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JOHN DOS PASSOS on What Do We Do after Nov. 3?

OCTOBER 20, 1964

NATIONAL REVIEW

A Journal of Fact and Opinion

Also In This Issue:

J. BURNHAM ON RED CHINA'S NUCLEAR CAPACITY ◆ R. KIRK ON THE DESTRUCTION OF ARCHITECTURE ◆ V. GOLD ON CASTING 'PRUDENT BILL HICKCOCK' NEWFRONTIERWISE ◆ ALSO FULLER, ELIOT, & ETC.

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NATIONAL REVIEW

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

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In This Issue . . .

➔ **John Dos Passos** points out that a national election isn't, or shouldn't be, like a football game, where you cheer yourself hoarse and then go home for four years and tend to other matters. Mr. Dos Passos, probably the most distinguished man of letters in America, is, as always, at work on a new book. . . . Speaking of the election, **The Staff** has brought together the recent evidence of a growing disillusionment with LBJ. Even the polls attest to the diminishing popularity of LBJ. Even so, as it stands, he would win in a walk. But the movement has started: and it has to do with personal failings of the President, the editors conclude, plus an uneasy feeling that all the hounds of the world are standing by, waiting for November fourth to resume their mischief. . . . **Victor Gold** gives us the transcript of a recent meeting of screen executives who discuss plans for a forthcoming movie, *How the West Was Rapproched,* a non-violent thriller. Mr. Gold it was, did you notice? who spotted the comely spy from the Democratic Party who two weeks ago infiltrated Senator Goldwater's campaign train. Yessir, it was our Mr. Gold who decorously, but firmly, ejected her—onto the front pages of practically all the nation's newspapers.

➔ **Wm. F. Buckley Jr.** insists that you can't any longer say, as Senator Goldwater tried to do, that the Government is Soft on Communism. You have got to say the same thing, but in different language. . . . **James Burnham** analyzes the report by Secretary of State Dean Rusk that the Red Chinese have, or are just about to have, the means of detonating an atom bomb: and analyzes, in his cool way, the actual meaning of the forthcoming explosion in terms of the relationships of power. Good reading. Reassuring. . . . **Frank Meyer** is most reassuring of all, in demonstrating that the conservative movement in this country does not lie ouside the American consensus, that the Roosevelt Revolution is not yet entirely institutionalized, notwithstanding the best efforts of the conformists. . . . And Mr. **Russell Kirk,** honeymooning in his duchy in Mecosta, nevertheless meets his deadline, and begs attention to our diminishing architectural patrimony.

➔ Mr. **Edmund Fuller,** as critic and novelist a stalwart defender of the norms, reviews lucidly two novels. . . . **George Fielding Eliot** analyzes Professor Herman Finer's blast against John Foster Dulles and his conduct of American policy during the Suez crisis. . . . **Julius Epstein** of the Hoover Institution reviews the English edition of the formidable *Handbook on Communism,* by Joseph Bochenski and our associate Gerhart Niemeyer—who by the way serves on Senator Goldwater's foreign policy task force headed up by Richard Nixon. . . . Sir **Shane Leslie** reminisces about the America's Cup. . . . And **Ralph de Toledano** tells us how to work our way through the literature of the musicals—"our gift to the world's store of musical pleasure—ours even though you and I may contribute only by applauding." ➔

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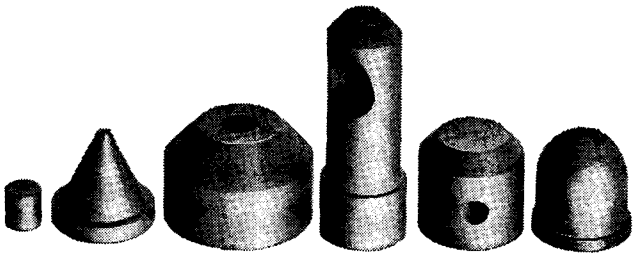

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To the Editor

Will Wills Overcome?

"Who Will Overcome?" by Garry Wills [Sept. 22] will—as many of your articles do—generate, I am sure, a good deal of thought toward solving one of this country's most troublesome problems.

Bronx, N.Y. RICHARD E. KING

Garry Wills inadvertently reveals the quandary in which white society flounders in this country, as elsewhere. The Negro, as a group, he says are at "the awkward age, pressing upon social adulthood." Yet "We must acquire the patience of the bewildered parent who recognizes himself in the odd behavior of his growing son, and not expect invariably adult composure from people only now being allowed to exercise some of their legitimate adult rights."

If, as Mr. Wills states, the Negro is a social adolescent, he cannot legitimately lay claim to adult social rights. He must be taught and grow as does the child and as did his white and yellow co-inhabitants of this world.

New Orleans, La. DONALD F. BLYTHE

I would like to commend Mr. Wills for an extremely thoughtful discussion of the race issue—the first such discussion to render vaguely intelligible to me just what the conservative position is. If all conservatives would write with a similar degree of insight, good will, and intellectual honesty, they would better succeed in being understood by those who do not share their own preconceptions. For surely we do have something to learn from each other.

Seattle, Wash. BYRON L. HAINES

Mr. Wills' article is the most concise and fairest statement on the Negroes' dilemma that I have yet read. The position is so clearly stated that the cobwebs produced for months by the verbose, self-appointed defenders of humanity, have been swept away.

New York, N.Y. MICHAEL M. PETERS

Who's Got the Title?

Richard Wheeler, speaking of the Rumford "Fair Housing Act" [Sept. 22], mentioned the Catholic Interracial Council's opposition to Proposition 14. In 1891, Pope Leo XIII was

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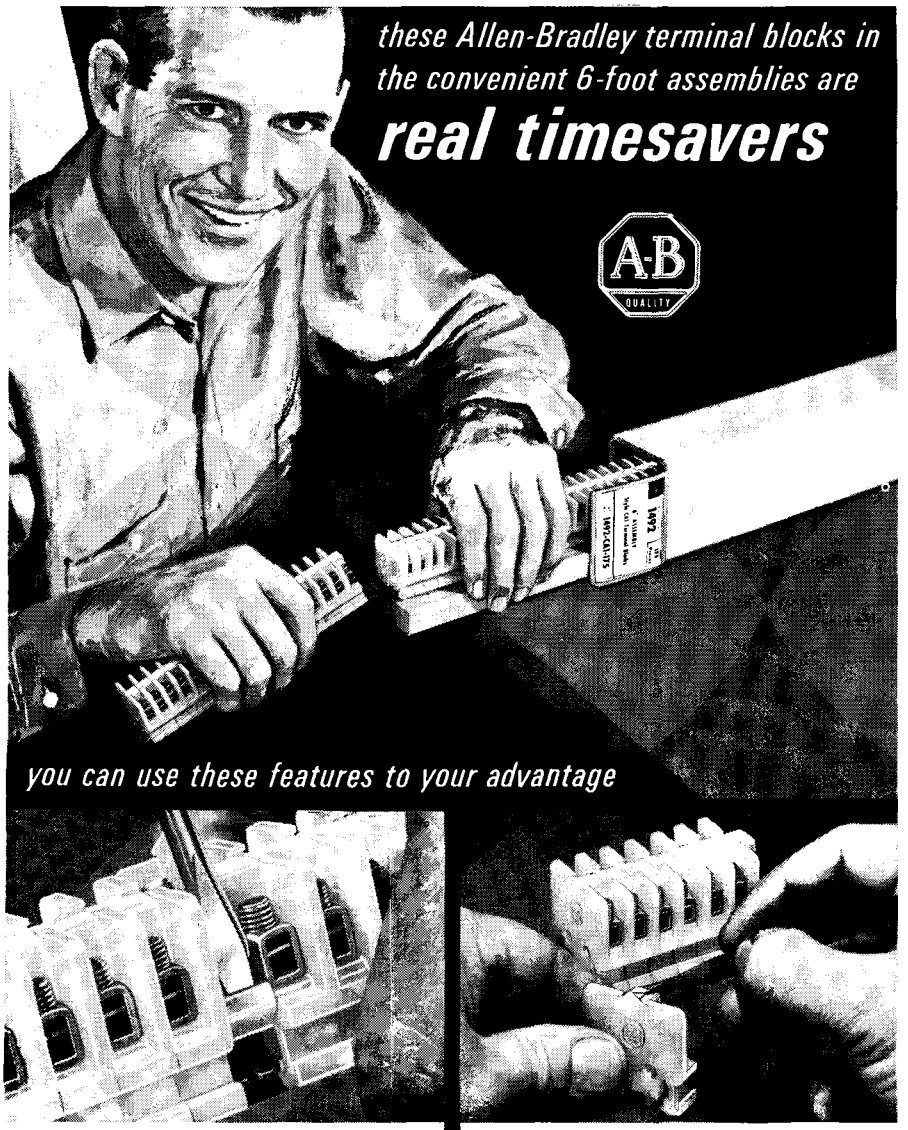

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"Our first and most fundamental principle, therefore, when we undertake to alleviate the condition of the masses, must be the inviolability of private property."

A person has a general right to own property. That doesn't mean that he has a particular right to own a particular piece of property if the owner chooses not to sell it to him. The historical fact that changes the abstract right of property in general into the concrete right of a particular piece of property is "title." And title is precisely what a person who proposes to acquire a particular piece of property does not have. To hold any other view is utterly absurd.

Proposition 14 does nothing more than attempt to amend the constitution of the State of California so that a person's right to the disposal of his property is preserved.

San Diego, Calif. RICHARD W. SMITH

Eager, but . . .

Alas and alack, although I read "enormously," I cannot read those colored pages in the September 22 issue.

Claremont, Calif. HELEN BABCOCK

We couldn't either. It was a printer's faux pas. Guilty party has been impeached. —ED.

H H H—

John Chamberlain's article on Humphrey [Sept. 8] points up the dangerous thought pattern of the Democrats' second man.

I was at the University of Minnesota at approximately the same time as Humphrey and can verify that he did not receive much training in straight thinking because the staff was radically "Fabian."

A favorite topic of discussion in Pol-Sci courses was "The False Values of Capitalism." Harold Laski

(Continued on p. 923)

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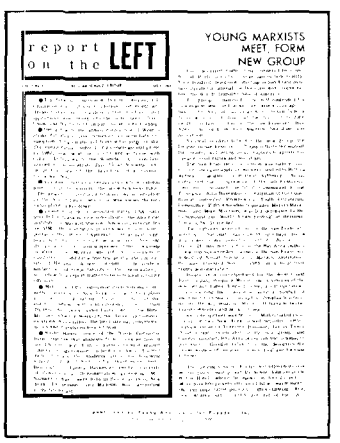
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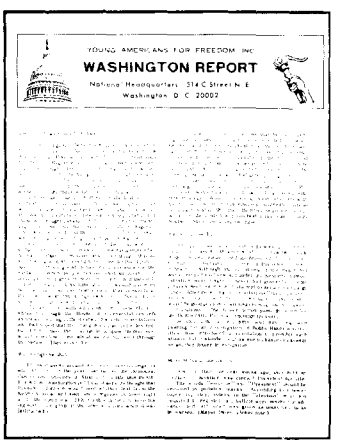
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The WEEK

● Hubert Horatio Humphrey, on the high road in Ohio, Sept. 27: "John Kennedy loved Ohio more than any other state except his beloved Massachusetts. Yet he lost this state in 1960. You owe something to his memory. You have the opportunity to redeem your state. I want you to undo what you did in 1960. I want you, in honor of our late President, to go to work between now and Nov. 3. Vote—and send the message so that John Kennedy in Heaven will know we won."

● Governor Rockefeller's never-never-land financing of New York state obligations is on the verge of dry rot. One of Rockefeller's principal tricks was to take state obligations and sell them to agencies outside the state budget, then have those outside agencies build and pay for capital facilities (mental hospitals, educational institutions), then have the state "rent" them back. Rent isn't an interest payment, is it? So the state debt was cut down, wasn't it? Such zoot-suit finance, under Rockefeller, has reached hundreds of millions of dollars already, and is on its way towards a billion by 1970, unless fiscal soundness intervenes. Last week one of the country's top credit-raters, Dun & Bradstreet, called a halt. It downgraded a New York State debt issue to one notch below the highest rating, saying, "The State of New York is increasingly departing from a debt policy long regarded as a model." D & B assailed the "phantom debt which will not constitute a direct obligation of the state, even though it will be supported by revenue of the state." It looks more and more as if Rockefeller, if he chooses to run for re-election in 1966, will have to include in his platform a pledge to clean up the financial mess in Albany.

● Lost in Congress' homeward scramble: Senator Dirksen's bill to postpone all court action on state legislative redistricting for two years, in order to give the nation a chance to consider a constitutional amendment permitting one chamber to be elected on some basis other than one-man-one-vote. The several amendments to that effect expired also, without getting to the floor. But this is an issue which—since it affects directly the jobs as well as principles of members of Congress and their fellow professionals in the states—may not just fade away, as have the other congressional skirmishes against the legislative usurpations of the Court.

● Malcolm X, a convert to Islam, resident in Mecca, having rejected Elijah Muhammad and his Black Muslims, has written a letter to a friend in New York, quoted in the *New York Times*, excerpts of which follow: "I shall never rest until I have undone the harm I did to so many well-meaning, innocent Negroes who through my own evangelistic zeal now believe in him more fanatically and more blindly than I did. . . . I am [now] a Muslim in the most orthodox sense. . . . This religion recognizes all men as brothers. . . . We must forget politics and propaganda and approach this as a Human Problem which all of us as human beings are obligated to correct. The well-meaning whites must become less vocal and more active against racism of their fellow whites . . . and Negro leaders must make their own people see that with equal rights also go equal responsibilities."

● How radical is the ADA? Listen to this. At Atlantic City the ADA proposed to the Democratic Party platform committee that the Executive Order on "equal opportunity in housing" be extended to apply to almost every private home in the country—every home with a mortgage on it, that is—on the grounds that mortgages are lent by banks that are insured or regulated by the Federal Government. The ADA would like to make it a federal case when you buy or sell your house. Unless you own your house outright. In which case, the ADA says, the Constitution doesn't apply. Property rights above human rights, probably. Property rights before ADA lefts, we say.

● Defense Secretary McNamara's experience in the *Annual Model Changeover* business has helped him (they say) run the Defense Department, and a little of it has rubbed off on President Johnson. What you do is take the basic chassis (in this case, a custom-built Eisenhower model) and add a few doodads—windshield washer, stick shift, air conditioning—and Hark! it's the A-11, the Fabulous Interceptor, unveiled by the President just before the Republican convention. Back to the drawing boards. Same chassis. Add seat belt, rear view mirror, four-wheel brakes. Presto! it's the YF-12A, Scrumptious Sky Cruiser, unveiled last week by the President. It's all very sad, and tedious, and not a little worrisome. It keeps us awake, wondering whether McNamara's great skill might work so far on the President as to get him to unveil an Edsel.

● The Committee of One Million (Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations) has launched its annual drive for public support and maximum publicity, including full-page newspaper ads carrying the names of 345 members of Congress

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who endorse the Committee and its position. Although the UN General Assembly has deferred its opening session until after the U.S. elections, and both political parties' platforms oppose the admission of Red China to the UN, there are political overtones nonetheless: Lyndon Johnson, while a member of Congress, never lent his name to this Committee (though he has spoken in favor of its general position), and Senator Hubert Humphrey hasn't been on the Committee since 1962, at his own request (though he too will speak in favor of the general position).

● R.I.P. Castner Tadashi Ogawa, 53, of Honolulu. Ogawa, a former union functionary, became known as one of the "reluctant 39" when he took the Fifth Amendment before a HUAC subcommittee investigating Communism in Hawaii. R.I.P. William B. Stephenson, 48, chairman of the Hawaii State Commission on Subversive Activities, and no friend, as such, of Mr. Ogawa's. Dignitaries attending the Episcopal funeral of Mr. Stephenson included State Attorney General Bert T. Kobayashi and staff. Dignitaries attending the Buddhist rites held the same week for Mr. Ogawa: Governor John A. Burns, Mayor Neal S. Blaisdell, U.S. Senator Hiram L. Fong, U.S. Representative Spark M. Matsumaga, numerous legislators, assorted councilmen.

● The defeat of Sir Roy Welensky in a special parliamentary election last week is the defeat of Southern Rhodesia's last best hope. As former colonial administrator and Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Sir Roy had demonstrated rare gifts of perception and flexibility that nobly defined the contributions white men could make to the new Africa. Despised equally by the hard Left and the hard Right, he clung to a position of availability when other men would have withdrawn from the battle. But while the Left vilified him, it was the Right that vanquished him, rejecting with stunning finality his policy of racial cooperation and unidolatrous loyalty to the Crown. This is the irony: that Welensky in his last stand against Prime Minister Ian D. Smith's narrowly adamant Rhodesian Front Party had begun, as Tshombe begins now, a rise to sudden favor in the eyes of those who claim to speak for black Africa.

● The British, who have been very lofty about our race problems for lo these many years, are having to look to their glass walls this autumn. Since the last British election (in 1959) several hundred thousand "coloureds"—as Pakistani and Indians, along with Negroes, are known in Britain—have immigrated. Many of them have settled in a few marginal parliamentary districts, and in these the inevitable backlash has arisen from problems of jobs, housing, and exotic manners. Though the Labor Party has now softened its position, it opposed the 1962 bill which limited future immigration. Labor now feels the sting of the lash. In Smethwick, a suburb of Birmingham, it may strike hard enough to cost Patrick Gordon Walker, Labor's Foreign Secretary-designate, his seat in Parliament.

● *That Old Black Mischief Has Them in Its Spell* Department. A young white South African mercenary hired to fight the rebels in the Congo talks about the nature of the enemy: "The rebels were on a hill about 200 yards away firing wildly with machine guns and a bazooka. We had only automatic rifles. The witch doctors were there, hopping up and down with their palm fronds. The rebs wore khaki camouflage pants with their monkey skins. They kept chanting the 'Mulele song' ['Go, Mulele, Go.' (Mulele, the leader, is missing, presumed dead.)—ED.] They were in the open with no cover. They have no fear of death. We just walked slowly up the hill, firing as we went. It was like a shooting gallery. . . . The rebs have one thing in common with our own Congolese. They don't take aim. They think that noise kills. It's a weird war, frightening, brutal, sometimes comic, utterly unreal."

● An unforeseen—and amusing—consequence of Sen. Strom Thurmond's defection to the Republican Party has been the game of musical chairs that ensued in the Senate. Thurmond, under the impression that he had been sitting at the desk of John C. Calhoun all these years, asked for his desk to follow him across the aisle. The Democratic leadership said no, which didn't matter, as it turned out, because Calhoun's desk was actually being sat at by Sen. Russell Long of Louisiana, who applied and got it when it became ownerless after the defeat of Sen. Henry Cabot Lodge by JFK in 1952. Long wanted it because it had been the desk of his father, Huey Long. However, he has now relinquished it to Thurmond's fellow South Carolinian, Olin Johnston, upon receiving the assurance that he can get the desk of Sen. Clinton Anderson of New Mexico, that being the desk that Sen. Long's mother occupied when she was appointed to fill out his father's term. Sen. Gaylord Nelson, of Wisconsin, a backbencher on the Democratic side, has moved forward to Sen. Thurmond's seat and his desk has been moved to the Republican side for Thurmond. Sen. Anderson will occupy Johnston's desk, the antecedent occupiers of which everyone was too exhausted to investigate.

● Bulletin, on a note of triumph, from the U.S. Public Health Service, Division of Occupational Health: "The major disabling and killing diseases

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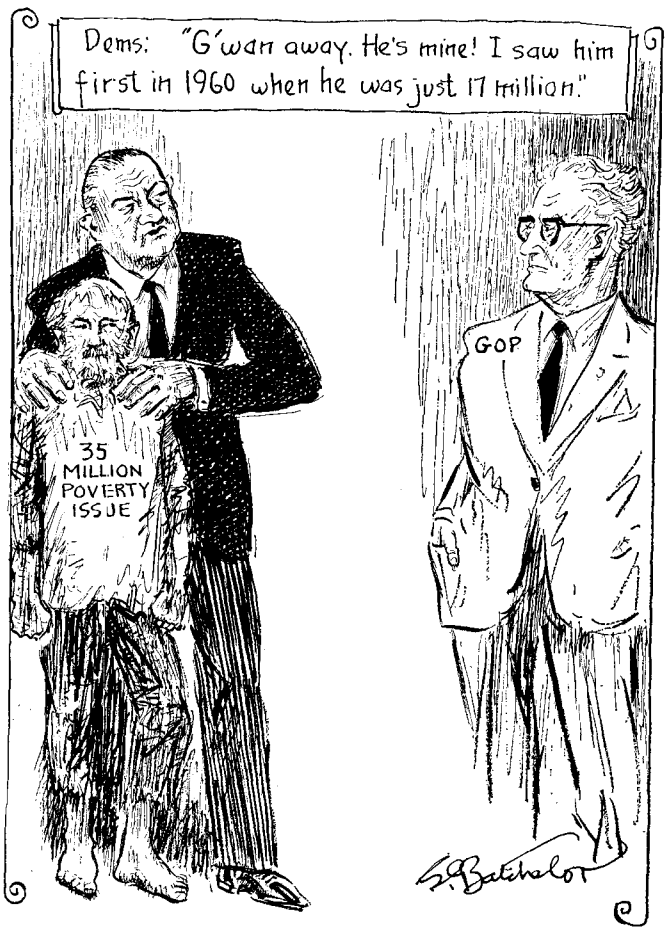

of occupation have largely been brought under control, and such terms as 'miners' asthma,' 'hatters' shakes,' 'filecutters' paralysis,' 'painters' colic,' and 'bakers' itch' are no longer commonplace. . . ." Bakers' itch, defined as the desire to get one's hands on more and more dough, usually flourished along with raging cases of Potomac fever; but now, thanks to an amazing new discovery, medical science has stamped it out. You, too, can have fast relief from pain of bakers' itch and other image-shattering diseases when you try BULL. BULL is like a doctor's prescription. It neutralizes excess publicity that originates in the opposition. No harmful effects, no foul aftertaste, no more fat-lip when you take BULL. Mr. J. of Austin writes: "I used to lie awake nights with lingering stereosis. Until my doctor made me use BULL. Now I get relief from kick-back and plenty of shut-eye, too." Remember the name: BULL. Swallow it whole.

● If you were the Advertising Acceptability Committee of the *New York Times*, whose function is to screen untasteful and possibly libelous ads, would you have misgivings about accepting—from a man recently convicted on 28 counts of publishing and distributing obscenity—full-page ads with the legend: "Is Barry Goldwater Psychologically Fit to be President of the United States?" Would you wonder about the legality of the ads as they appeared under a broad federal statute (Vol. 18, U.S. Code annotated, Section 612) prohibiting all manner of ads "concerning any person who has publicly declared his intention to seek the office of President" which do not carry the names of those responsible for them, and those paying for them? Here's the statement *we* got from the *Times* Advertising Acceptability Committee: "If the ad is submitted again, our legal department would review the question."

● Shame, shame, cried Edward Costikyan, Chairman of the New York County Democrats last week when the Women's National Republican Club ran a full page advertisement in the *Daily News* showing a cloud-obscured Statue of Liberty with the caption: "Your dollars and devotion can defeat the *darkness* threatening our Republic." The use of the word *darkness*, charged Costikyan, was "racism" and a "blatant appeal to the white backlash vote." Oh, we can see it now, when Costikyan and his friends get voted back into power, that revised issue of Arthur Koestler's *Non-Whiteness at Noon;* the exhortations from certain pulpits about those who will be "cast into outer places"; and the school children reciting, "The ploughman homeward plods his weary way/And leaves the world to the post-sunset period and to me."

● A reaction to the first encyclical of Pope Paul: "*Ecclesiam Suam* . . . will prove to be the despair of those who truly believe in *aggiornamento*. After one has read Pope John's *Pacem in Terris* one is utterly unprepared for the return of 16th-century mentality . . . One can only be thankful that the Pope did not take it upon himself to use his first encyclical to attempt to set forth doctrine or a particular moral or social teaching. In the prologue he saves us all from the obligation to accept with docility his message (etc., etc.)." Memo to inquisitors at *America*, and elsewhere: the remarks appear in the journal *Ramparts*, described as a Catholic journal edited by laymen; published in California. Have fun.

● A mid-September issue of *Southern California Business*, the weekly publication of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, gives the employment totals of the major industries in the Los Angeles area:

Petroleum	16,000
Agriculture	23,400
Electronics	146,000
Finance, Insurance,, Real Estate	168,500
Missilery	176,000
Construction	182,600
Wholesale	183,000
Government	359,300

As for the smog, we understand that the government is taekingg sttps t sojhkl th problamre.

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The GOP Heads Into a Dilemma

Until November 3 no one can be sure of the size of "the frontlash." What people say during a campaign is not always an accurate sign of what they will do when they get in the booth, alone with what civic conscience they may happen to possess. Still, there can be no doubt that the so-called frontlash exists, particularly in the Northeast—meaning by "frontlash" the shift of Republican Liberals and self-named "moderates" to Johnson; or, more exactly, their refusal to support Goldwater, since no one we have ever heard of actually supports Lyndon Johnson in any positive sense.

It is a fact that several prominent Republican politicians—among them Senators Javits, Keating, Kuchel and (Clifford) Case and New York Representative John Lindsay—have refused to endorse the national ticket. The *New York Herald Tribune*, leading Republican newspaper in the East, has declared for the Democratic candidate after having supported Republicans in every other Presidential election since its founding 124 years ago. *Life* Magazine and thus implicitly *Time* have also broken their normally Republican tradition. A number of normally Republican businessmen have made public announcement for Johnson. A good many more Republicans, both politicians and laymen, have been dragging their feet or sitting it out altogether after the varying examples of Governors Rockefeller and Romney, Senator Hugh Scott, and the President's devoted servant, Henry Cabot Lodge.

The political significance of the frontlash is crystal clear. The Republican Party, by due process, selected a conservative, a man from the right of its center, as candidate for the Presidency. A conspicuous portion of the Party's Liberal, or left, wing refuses to go along. In effect, the Republican Liberals stand on an ultimatum: either nominate one of ours, or we won't play ball. For 24 years the Liberals had it their way; every four years the candidate chosen was Liberal by either nature or domestication. Republican conservatives were expected to accept the choice, chins up, and close ranks; and they did. What are they going to do now, if it is thus proved that the collaboration between the two wings of the party is a strictly one-way affair?

If the Republican Liberals persist in their refusal to support Goldwater, it is as certain as anything in politics can be that Republican conservatives will never again be induced to support a Liberal Republican candidate for the Presidency. Messrs. Kuchel, Case, Keating and Co. are pushing the GOP into a virtually insoluble dilemma: if it nominates a conservative, the party's Left defects; if it nominates a Liberal, its Right defects. The only conceivable solution would be a centrist so perfectly balanced on all issues that he would bore the country to death.

It would be advisable for the incipient frontlashers to look a little more carefully at where they are going. If the Republican Party is wrecked between the horns of this dilemma, they'll be among those who go down in the wreckage.

Voices of Moderation

Maxwell Geismar, literary critic, in *Ramparts*, November issue: "[Goldwater] is a Doctor Strangelove incarnate, he is possessed, paranoidal, utterly evil, and close to suicidal."

Sidney Michaels, author of *Dylan*, in the same issue: "[Under Goldwater] perhaps later The Final Solution to the Negro Problem would be the gas ovens. After all, Hitler didn't start out with a final solution. At first, he just offered a lot of contradictory, irresponsible, primary solutions. He even held private chats with Jewish leaders and so 'unified' them, that in spite of his open, loud, clear anti-Semitism, they helped finance him."

What Says the South?

The dismal list of church bombings and burnings in the Deep South gets longer week by week. More than twenty have been ruined in Mississippi alone this year. It is conceivable that civil rights or Communist provocateurs are responsible in a few instances, as some Southerners claim and those well informed about revolutionary tactics judge likely enough. But it is not plausible that this should be sufficient explanation.

No element of the South's racial troubles (the North has its own of its own kind) is more disturbing than this razing of the churches to the friends of the South in other regions and other countries. The destruction of churches is a primary symbol of barbarism; and quite apart from its moral significance, the churches are the chief stabilizing and refining institution of the Negro community. What the South's friends need, we feel, is an authentic voice from Southern white men—and particularly, perhaps, from those who are segregationist in principle—outlawing these unChristian and inhuman crimes, and public evidence that responsible Southerners, other than the professional Liberals and civil righters, are doing what they can to bring them to an end. A public committee of prominent Southerners—let the saner segregationist groups be represented in it—to rouse

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Focus on NOV. 3

◆ The National Committee for an Effective (*i.e.*, rubber-stamp) Congress, through a special 1964 Campaign Fund, is digging for cash to help selected Democratic ultra-Liberals get elected or re-elected. Senator Eugene McCarthy (D., Minn.), the Mother Superior of congressional Liberalism, has sent out a huge mailing for this fund drive, specifying the fair-haired in need of aid: Senators Quentin Burdick (N.D.), Philip Hart (Mich.), Gale McGee (Wyo.), Frank Moss (Utah), Edmund Muskie (Maine); Congressmen John Brademas (Ind.), James Corman (Calif.), Robert Duncan (Ore.), Donald Fraser (Minn.), Ralph Harding (Ida.), Alec Olson (Minn.), Carlton Sickles (Md.), Lionel Van Deerlin (Calif.). If these are the races that the Liberals think are a little too hot for comfort, let the Loyal Opposition be encouraged.

◆ The GOP National Committee has organized Operation Alert, a neighbor-to-neighbor phone campaign to give advance notice of Goldwater and Miller network TV appearances. Now hear this! *Half-hour shows* (all times New York time): Oct. 13, 9:30 pm, NBC; Oct. 20, 9:30 pm, CBS; Oct. 29, 9:30 pm, CBS; Nov. 2, 9:30 pm, CBS. *Five-minute spots:* Oct. 12, 8:55 am, NBC; Oct. 13, 12:25 pm, NBC; Oct. 15, 9:25 pm, CBS; Oct. 16, 3:35 pm, CBS; Oct. 16, 9:25 pm, CBS; Oct. 18, 10:55 pm, CBS; Oct. 19, 4:25 pm, CBS; Oct. 19, 7:55 pm, CBS; Oct. 20, 8:55 am, NBC; Oct. 21, 10:55 pm, CBS; Oct. 22, 8:55 am, NBC; Oct. 22, 3:55 pm, NBC; Oct. 24, 9:25 pm, ABC; Oct. 25, 8:55 pm, CBS; Oct. 26, 8:55 am, NBC; Oct. 26, 8:25 pm, CBS; Oct. 27, 1:55 pm, CBS; Oct. 27, 9:25 pm, CBS; Oct. 28, 11:55 am, NBC; Oct. 29, 3:55 pm, CBS; Oct. 29, 8:55 am, NBC; Oct. 30, 2:55 pm, CBS; Oct. 30, 12:25 pm, NBC; Oct. 31, 8:25 pm, CBS; Nov. 1, 10:25 pm, CBS; Nov. 2, 1:55 pm, CBS; Nov. 2, 8:55 am, NBC; Nov. 2, 3:55 pm, NBC. The Great Debate between Senator Goldwater and President Johnson will be held at your local polling place on Nov 3.

◆ Polls conducted among airline pilots in several sections of the country show the pilots going 77 per cent for Goldwater. What this country needs is a good five-cent airplane in every garage. New York Goldwater-Miller workers distributed leaflets to about 8,000 of the New York parents demonstrating against "school bussing," and report that about 80 per cent of them responded vociferously in favor of the GOP ticket—in predominantly Democratic areas.

◆ The Task Forces that have come together to issue public statements from the GOP headquarters give a clue to the kind of men Goldwater might draw on for his Cabinet, *ceteris non paribus:* Joseph S. Farland, former U.S. Ambassador (Panama, Dominican Republic), head of the Task Force on Cuba and the Western Hemisphere; Neil McElroy, former Secretary of Defense, heading the Peace through Preparedness force; Richard Nixon heading the Cause of Peace and Freedom force; George Humphrey, former Secretary of the Treasury, heading the Fiscal, Monetary and Economic Policy force; Admiral Lewis Strauss (Ret.), former chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, heading the Space, Science, and the Atom force; Hon. Walter Judd heading the Vietnam and Southeast Asia force. By the way, why doesn't Goldwater announce his tentative selections for Cabinet positions? It would be a healthy innovation in American politics.

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public sentiment against this desecration and promote official action to find the criminals responsible for it would be, we believe, in order. That and private funds instantly to rebuild the razed churches.

Zowie, Wham, Boom

Senator Goldwater's supporters have got enough ideas to keep Madison Avenue buzzing for years to come.

F'rinstance . . . Mr. and Mrs. Ronald Hildreth (64 Kilburn Rd., Garden City, New York) have started a chain letter for Barry, asking each person on their Christmas card list to send postcards to 25 other people urging them to vote for Goldwater (they figure with a 50 per cent response they will have reached 600,000 families by the fifth go-round). . . . The National Women's Republican Club (headquarters 3 W. 51st Street, NYC), dismayed at the kind of treatment Goldwater's campaign is getting from the radio and TV slantsters, is busy organizing a round-the-clock watch on both and intends, documentation in hand, to protest verbally, personally and postally any future such transgressions (*nota bene,* gents). . . . In San Diego, 1,500 members of Local 325 of the American Federation of Musicians have organized a "Musicians for Goldwater" Committee (1027 Alexandria Drive, San Diego) and plan a series of mailings and newspaper advertisements aimed at union members to tell them why Goldwater should be their choice. . . . Manhattan Goldwaterites, living in the same town with Kenneth Keating and John Lindsay and therefore frustrated, hope to get it all out of their system at a giant Madison Square Garden rally on October 26 at which their Hero will speak (for information contact Goldwater Victory Rally, Suite 906, 79 Madison Ave.).

The publicists, too, have been at work. Fresh off the presses (crammed with the facts) is *The Goldwater Story* by Ralph de Toledano and Philip Brennan Jr. (Cato the Elder). Price $1.00. Herald House

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IN THE NEXT ISSUE

A 16-PAGE SUPPLEMENT ON NOVEMBER THIRD

- *What does it mean?*
- *What races to watch*
- *Which GOP congressmen regularly vote with the Democrats?*

Inc., 11 East 17th Street, NYC. . . . Also M. Stanton Evans' brilliant *Goldwater or Johnson: Does It Really Matter?* (Answer: Yes). Victor Publishing Company Inc., One Fourth Avenue, Shepherdsville, Kentucky. Fifty cents. . . . A new book by Phyllis Schlafly and Admiral Chester Ward, *The Gravediggers,* Père Marquette Press, P.O. Box 316, Alton, Ill., 75 cents. . . . And a brand-new publication, the *Minnesota Conservative* (Post Publishing Co. Inc., 5617 Corvallis Ave., Robbinsdale 29, Minn.), which is stalking HHH. It's estimated that before election day, over three million Goldwater fans will be wearing their hearts on their bumpers. One lady last week, visiting in Belgrade, almost succeeded in pasting a sticker on the limousine of Marshal Tito.

For Senator: Henry Paolucci

The national significance of the New York Senate race is plainly enough shown by the scope of the operations mounted by the major party candidates—greater, it is generally believed, than for any single-state campaign in the nation's history. Messrs. Kennedy and Keating have already budgeted three million dollars, a figure sure to swell as the heat gets higher. Bobby Kennedy, blocked by LBJ from the Vice Presidential channel to the Presidency, selected New York as the most promising base from which to direct the clan's moves toward reconquest of the White House and national power. He has brought in with him a huge professional *apparat* that has already swollen beyond the capacity of three large office suites. An initial $500,000 has been assigned to paid-TV over and above the constant free coverage. The family plane, *Caroline,* carries a big squad of advance men over the state to prepare the details of the mass processions that, so far, have been the sole content of Bobby's campaign.

Senator Keating's backers are putting up matching money to oil his attempt to offer himself to New Yorkers as the true Liberal of Liberals who can integrate more schools, eat more blintzes, denounce more extremists and dole out more federal funds than any Democrat on the block. Apparently getting scared at the size of Bobby's crowds, Kenneth Keating reached down into the sewer and came up with an appeal to the passions of New York's Jews: accusing Bobby, without any shadow of evidence, of selling out to Nazis in the settlement of the infinitely complicated, twenty-year General Aniline affair. On the first day of his campaign, Mr. Keating denounced "so-called right-to-work" laws—before a labor audience, needless to say. Keating continues in his refusal to support Goldwater and Miller; in practice his campaign sabotages the national ticket in New York. If he manages to win the Senate seat on this basis, the Republican Liberals figure they will retain control of the New York party machinery, with all its leverage in national affairs. If Keating loses badly, the New York Liberal Republican leadership may well sink with him.

Fortunately for New Yorkers this year their choice is not limited to the Kennedy *apparat* or the Keating-Liberal cabal. The young, active Conservative Party has a senatorial candidate on the ballot whose claim to high office is justified both by individual qualities of intelligence, knowledge, and responsibility, and by the objective political context. He can rightly call for votes from members of both the old parties—from Democrats who reject the arrogance of the Kennedy *apparat* and from Republicans who are disgusted with Keating's demagogic performance and ritual Liberalism. Henry Paolucci has an additional claim on Republican conservatives from his loyal backing of Barry Goldwater and William Miller. The intelligent and effective New York vote November 3 will combine GOLDWATER-MILLER for the White House with HENRY PAOLUCCI for the United States Senate.

Thinking Deep

Suddenly, Dewey and Herbert Brownell
Are actively raising political hell.
They're out of retirement beating the drums
For Senator Keating—who's beating his gums.
Why all the excitement? They didn't react
When Barry and Miller got into the act!
There's something *disturbing* in watching the way
They hammer and yammer at RFK.
Therefore, I consulted the *Herald Tribune*
To see why they're singing the Senator's tune.
You'll *die* when I tell you. They're making a date
To clobber Goldwater in '68!
(However, if Robert F. Kennedy wins,
Their cause is as dead as the Zeppelins.)
That's why I don't dig Dewey's hoochy-coochy;
I'm voting November for Henry Paolucci.

W. H. VON DREELE

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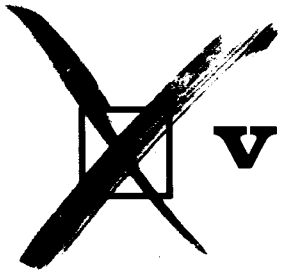

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Is LBJ Slipping?

—A STAFF REPORT

POLLS

Gallup	July 10*	Aug. 23	Oct. 4
Johnson	76	65	62
Goldwater	20	29	32
Undecided	4	6	6
Harris			
Johnson	72	61	60
Goldwater	22	31	32
Undecided	6	8	8

*Last before GOP convention

I

The polls indicate, interestingly enough, not so much a rise in the popularity of Senator Goldwater as a diminution in the popularity of President Johnson.

It becomes clearer, in retrospect, that Mr. Johnson made some instant calculations, hours after achieving office, concerning his political future. Someone recently remarked that if America's Liberals had been informed in 1960 that the race in 1964 would be between Lyndon Johnson and Barry Goldwater, they would probably have marched out into the ocean and drowned themselves. Lyndon Johnson's image in 1960 was that of the Southern, or at any rate Southwestern, alternative to the Eastern and dogmatically Liberal wing of the Democratic Party. He was roundly denounced by the principal Liberal spokesmen of the day, the labor union spokesmen, the thunder-makers of the ADA, the tablet-keepers of the Liberal ideology. He did little to woo their favor. On one occasion he even denounced "the ADA and the KKK."

But when Mr. Kennedy was killed, Lyndon Johnson recognized that he would be regarded by his most vocal constituents much as Hamlet's uncle was when he went to bed between incestuous sheets. Accordingly, a new Johnson was born. Within minutes, or so it seemed, he breathed life into the civil rights bill. He went to New York and gave a speech so far gone in UN-unction as might have struck even Mrs. Roosevelt as fulsome. Medicare . . . Anti-poverty . . . Increased social security . . . See the Yellow Pages of the ADA Directory; practically everything was quickly bought by Lyndon Johnson on becoming President.

It paid off brilliantly. He did manage, for purely personal reasons, to excrete some of the more indigestible ideologues in the White House, men who obviously made him personally ill at ease, like Arthur Schlesinger and Theodore Sorensen. But they went away making cooing noises about a man they had articulately disdained three years before: and none of them has since strayed off Johnson's reservation.

Having consolidated his support among the Liberals, the President turned to Business America and identified himself as, in effect, Honorary President of the Chamber of Commerce. Once again he succeeded. Many businessmen were eager to believe that Lyndon Johnson was really at heart the Lyndon Johnson the Liberals had fought so ardently against during 1960, that the overtures he now was making to the Liberals were merely a part of that campaign oratory that Wendell Willkie had taught us, way back in 1940, was necessary to any man who wants to boob-bait his way into the White House.

The political successes of Mr. Johnson greatly discouraged the Republican opposition. On the one hand the Republicans were conducting an internal quarrel of their own over the question of which ideological wing would control the party's destinies. On the other hand the appetite for victory was sharply diminished by the apparent certitude of Lyndon Johnson's re-election. And overlying the whole business was the long and tragic shadow of the corpse of John F. Kennedy. A traumatized people cried out for a period of serenity; a good long rest period in the political sanitarium. Oswald had precipitated a bloody convulsion. Goldwater was precipitating an unbloody convulsion, but a convulsion just the same. It seemed more than the average American voter was in a mood to bear. Three Presidents in twelve months is the kind of thing they go for in the banana republics, or the Balkans; not in America.

By the time of the San Francisco convention, the conservative wing of the Republican Party had narrowly, but decisively, beaten down the Liberal wing. But it had done so without impinging in any way on the apparently unshatterable hold the incumbent President had on the overwhelming majority of the voters.

The major political development of the last period, then, is not any increase in the popularity of Gold-

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water (the polls indicate that Goldwater has stayed at about the same level), but the decreasing popularity of Lyndon Johnson. Why?

". . . *this summer, we beheld a pair of gatherings at the summit of political power,*" spoke the Very Reverend Francis B. Sayre Jr., Dean of Washington Cathedral in Washington, impeccably-blooded grandson of Woodrow Wilson and by his past record an undeviating Liberal—"*each of which was dominated by a single man—the one, a man of dangerous ignorance and devastating uncertainty* [the Dean means Goldwater]; *the other, a man whose public house is splendid in its every appearance, but whose private lack of ethics must inevitably introduce termites at the very foundation. We stare fascinated at the forces that have produced such a sterile choice for us: frustration and a federation of hostilities in one party; and, in the other, behind a goodly façade, only a cynical manipulation of power.*"

A cynical manipulator of power? Lyndon Johnson?

". . . *this department wrote in the spring of 1960, and still believes,*" said Arthur Krock two weeks ago in the *New York Times*, "*that Mr. Johnson is the best-equipped man for the Presidency in public life* [*but*] *that judgment carries a reservation: against an excessive grant of power to one naturally disposed to make use of all he has.*"

Power hungry?

"*Lyndon Johnson . . . found enough energy* [*during his stay in Congress*]," wrote *Life* Magazine, "*to devote a great deal of attention to the growth of his own financial independence. The Johnson family is one of the four richest ever to occupy the White House. . . . The Johnson holdings today can be estimated at approximately $14 million. . . . This fortune is the accomplishment of a family whose inherited wealth was little more than $30,000 and whose breadwinner's lifetime total of salaries—earned almost entirely in 33 years of federal payrolls—has, before taxes, not much exceeded $500,000.*"

Financial hanky-panky?

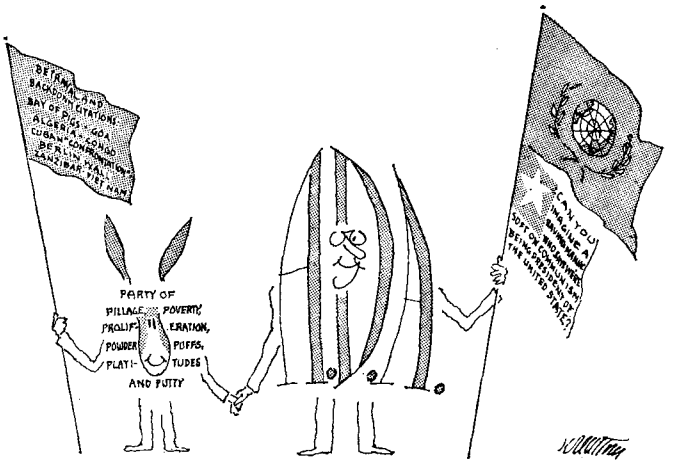
"*KTBC* [Austin] *may have been in FCC trouble,*" *Life* continued, "*before the Johnsons bought it, but it has been completely free of trouble ever since. . . . all of its requests have been acted upon favorably and with dispatch by the* [*FCC*]. . . ."

Influence-wielding?

"*Intermittent announcements have been made* [*by LBJ*] *throughout the campaign of 'projects initiated' or 'carried to completion' since 1960, but virtually all of these 'new' weapons are direct descendants of weapons systems that were completed or were in existence in component form during the Eisenhower regime. . . . The unfortunate but inevitable discussion of defense issues from the political hustings normally results—as it has in this campaign—in more confusion than illumination. But for this result the Democrats bear more than their share of the blame.*" So writes the *New York Times*.

Underhandedness in matters relating to the national defense?

These critical statements have issued from sources friendly to Lyndon Johnson and his program. There is stirring in America a feeling of distrust for Lyndon Johnson; a crystallizing consensus on the proposition that he is above all a self-server; a "cynical manipulator," to use the secular words of the Very Reverend Francis Sayre. And the principal symbol of Mr. Johnson's refusal to come clean about his own past, it is generally agreed, is the performance respecting Bobby Baker. It is as simple as this. Bobby Baker is a crook. He was able to make crookedness pay because he was sheltered by Lyndon Johnson, who several times registered publicly his patronage of Bobby, once called him "my strong right arm." One day Bobby went too far. Johnson took a powder. His agents in the Senate brought down the curtain. The American people, because Johnson will not let them know, will never find out the lengths to which Bobby carried his abuses, or the exact nature of Lyndon Johnson's responsibility.



"All we want is massive federal intervention into all walks of American life, liquidation of the armed forces necessary to protect our sovereignty, and immediate recognition, trade and conviviality with Red China and the Red Soviet, under a UN-dominated World Government! As Hubert Humphrey, our co-founder and co-chairman, has explained to you, there's nothing extremist about us, especially when he says it fast!"

II

Senator Goldwater has stimulated the critical resources of the most articulate men in the United States. In recent weeks, under the rubric "Voices of Moderation," NATIONAL REVIEW has meticulously reproduced choice specimens, presupposing for ourselves in this case an immunity from the laws of libel which prudence entitles us to assume—Senator Goldwater is not likely to sue NATIONAL REVIEW for repeat-

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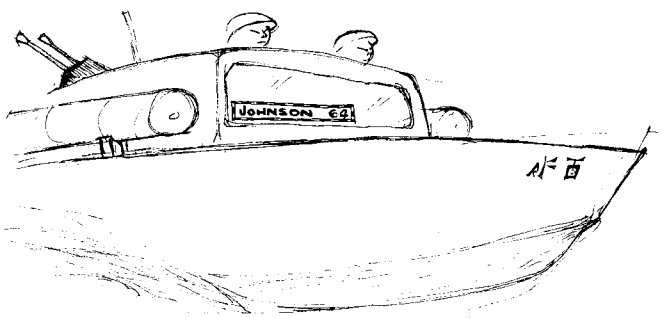
ing libels upon himself uttered by such as Martin Luther King, George Meany, Emanuel Celler, or the *Saturday Evening Post*. We do not doubt that the effort to portray Goldwater as a madman has failed.

There are those who are not so easily led on by violent rhetoric. How many of the readers of the *Saturday Evening Post* will believe that Goldwater is a "wild man, a stray, a political ju-jitsu artist . . ."? The polls seem to show a stubborn resistance to the rhetoric of overkill. The abuse comes on and on. But Goldwater hangs on to his percentage points. What is perhaps unremarked by the polls is an internalized resentment to the overdrawn rhetoric. It is not possible to predict how many people will be influenced by the *Saturday Evening Post*-type assault to vote against Goldwater, in contrast to those who will go so far as to express their disgust by voting in favor of him—a man who, whatever his politics, is absolutely untouched by scandal. Almost certainly the relative advantage will be had by the detractors; but almost certainly there will be a backlash, whose size, whatever it is, will show up at the polls even if it does not now register on Dr. Gallup's seismograph.

The integrity of Senator Goldwater?

Much has been made, and indeed a certain amount can be made, of what appear to be shifting positions with respect to such issues as social security, the



United Nations, and the recognition of the Soviet Union. Having become the national candidate of his party, Senator Goldwater's position has consolidated and here and there modified. Perhaps, in the net, it has hurt Goldwater rather than helped him that he and William Miller have on one or two occasions inflected his position *without acknowledging that this had been done*. But Goldwater's critics, when they are through celebrating his alleged tergiversations, must acknowledge that he holds to his fundamental positions with a proud tenacity and is the only politician around who is displaying personal courage.

Whether or not they favor what he says, a number of Americans are impressed that he uniquely will face an audience and tell it precisely what it least wants to hear. In 1952, shortly after his nomination, and during the heyday of McCarthyism, Adlai Stevenson appeared before the American Legion Convention and told the Legionnaires that he did not think that American foreign policy could be furthered by "looking for Communists in the Bureau of Wildlife and Fisheries." The Liberals' hearts burst with pride. That spectacular piece of audacity, which all but won Adlai the Nobel Prize, is a commonplace feat of courage for a man who goes to Florida to speak against Medicare, to Atlanta to speak against the Supreme Court's reapportionment decision, to Nashville to speak against the TVA, to Appalachia to denounce the anti-poverty program.

Concerning Goldwater, finally, there is not a breath of personal scandal. Even Drew Pearson, who can find scandal in Snow White's relations with the Seven Dwarfs, tried it and failed. It isn't that Pearson is growing feeble. It is that in Goldwater the anti-toxin overwhelms even the most poisonous lance.

III

And finally there is working against Lyndon Johnson the fundamentally synthetic nature of America's present euphoria. It is not only that we have been administered happy pills by the Federal Government —the farmers, the old folks, the labor unions, the defense contractors, everybody. All the microbes in our system appear to be Democratic-oriented, and are holding back their poisons pending the renewal of their license in November. Things are hunky-dory. Fewer people are killed in Vietnam than on the Merritt Parkway. Red China hasn't been admitted to the United Nations. Khrushchev hasn't recently uttered an ultimatum against West Berlin. The agitators on the domestic scene are strangely silent.

A cynical manipulator of the world scene?

Four years ago Khrushchev told Drew Pearson that he had intentionally lain low pending what he hoped would be the defeat of Richard Nixon. Last July the leaders of the civil rights movements publicly instructed their followers to lie low pending the successful conclusion of the campaign. A decision in Vietnam is intentionally shirked pending the arrival and successful negotiation of the affair of November 3. The General Assembly of the United Nations obligingly agrees not to convene to discuss the question of the admission of Red China until, er, sometime in December or January. The labor union leaders, except for show-strikes such as the one against GM, hold back. But the tranquility sits on some Americans—on how many, again we cannot know—as factitious, as having lamentably little to do with the nature of things; as suggesting not so much an organic evolution into an era of peace and plenty, as a precarious equilibrium wrenched out of a mutinous world by the ten thumbs of Lyndon Johnson and his accommodating fellow leaders. Can they maintain it for just a few more weeks? There is no denying their skill. Or their cynicism.

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ON THE RIGHT

Soft On Communism?

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

The other day Senator Goldwater charged that the Johnson Administration was "soft on Communism," and the exasperation was worldwide. Ogawd-here-we-go-again, they all said, summoning the memory of the early fifties when Joe McCarthy and Dwight Eisenhower were charging the same kind of thing about Harry Truman and Dean Acheson and Adlai Stevenson, and great political battles were fought over the question, Had the Government indeed been soft on Communism? That era produced some especially interesting phenomena, of which we are conspicuously not reminded by Mr. Goldwater's critics. It was in 1954 that Hubert Humphrey, running for re-election and seeking to establish that nobody but nobody was a bigger or better witch-hunter than he, piloted through Congress a bill to outlaw Communism so drastic in its conformist fundamentalism that even Senator Pat McCarran and Joe McCarthy voted against it. (It squats on the statute books, unenforceable, as the Communist Control Act of 1954.) But all that seems ages away, and it is unlikely that Senator Humphrey will be reminded of his venture in political atavism of ten years ago: indeed, it was he who most impatiently rebuked Senator Goldwater last week for bringing up so ancient, so discredited, so divisive a slogan. Soft on Communism indeed!

Buckley

The American political public has a nervous political ear. We tire easily of repetitious slogans, even as we tire of lyrical jingles, however catchy, and no matter how passionate our love affair. Mairzy-doats-and-doazy-doats - and - little - lambs - eadivy. America-is-soft-on-Communism. The life expectancy is about the same in both cases. A professional student of political propaganda informs me that the Anglo-Saxon's distinctive impatience with the tireless repetition of anything at all tends both a) to shield us from the ravages of the Big Lie (we become bored before it sinks in), and b) to militate against our success as political propagandists (we are not persistent enough). He cited the Voice of America's performance in Latin America as compared to the Communists', after the affair of October 22, 1962. We pounced on the opportunity to demonstrate the belligerence of the Soviet Union, which had sneaked into Cuba middle-range missiles with atomic warheads, and broadcast the events day and night. The Communists jumped to demonstrate their innate peacefulness—as witness their willingness to withdraw those missiles when President Kennedy instituted his blockade. All of Latin America laughed during the first few weeks at the utter impudence of the Communist propagandists' claiming credit for withdrawing missiles they themselves had introduced in the first place. It was as though Hitler had applied to the Nobel Committee for a medal on the grounds that he had voluntarily stopped slaughtering Jews after the five millionth. We, by contrast, after a week or two turned to other subjects. The Communists, stubbornly, humorlessly, kept on and on, week after week, month after month, droning their untruth. In a matter of time, the expert informed me, the Communists actually succeeded in convincing much of South America that *they* had been the peace-loving heroes of the occasion.

To be soft on Communism means to me to take measures against Communism less rigorous than those that the nature and threat of Communism demand. By that standard nothing seems to me more obvious than that this lack of rigor shoots through our policies at home and abroad. At home the long stretch in our maladministration of internal security is merely suggested by our failure last week to prosecute Russian spies; by the hush-hushing of the Otepka case, by the suppression of Goleniewski, by the scandals surrounding the National Security Council. In foreign affairs we are impotent while our students go to Cuba to Communize with Castro, and our scientists make pacifist propaganda in Prague. We train Indochinese military men in how to suppress anti-Communist movements in Malaysia, send wheat to Russia to cushion the people against the reality of Marxist agriculture; send whole drugstores to Cuba, endless supplies to Poland, money to Nasser with which to subvert anti-Communist governments in Israel and Yemen, withdraw money from anti-Communists in Laos, whistle while a wall goes up in Berlin. . . . Of course we are soft on Communism! But we mustn't put it that way—the slogan was winded ten years ago. Senator Goldwater must find a new formulation in order to make his point.

The nervous ear abhors a cliché. The only reason we are permitted to repeat the phrase Our Father Who Art in Heaven is because it is a prayer, not a slogan. If one were running for office in America on that Biblical proposition one would have to change it around every season or so. The Democrats know this, which is why they have campaigned, successively, for the New Deal, the Fair Deal, the New Frontier, the Great Society: and tomorrow? The Big Brotherhood. And no need to go on from there. They'll give us free pills for our nervous ears.

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From WASHINGTON Straight

Behind the Lines

► The Republican National Committee is waging its campaign for the Presidency under the deepening shadows of palace intrigue. The so-called "moderates," routed at San Francisco by the Goldwater wing of the GOP, are staging a comeback.

Three of the principals in the drama at the Cow Palace, Nelson Rockefeller, Henry Cabot Lodge and George Romney, have all but walked out of the party. Rockefeller is devoting his considerable political energies to Sen. Kenneth Keating's campaign for re-election, while maintaining a posture of rigid civility toward the national ticket. Cabot Lodge "rests" in Massachusetts, issuing euphoric statements on Vietnam, while Romney is running a naked reverse for re-election as Governor of Michigan. All three have grandiose plans for the GOP in the future. Their ambitious enthusiasm surfaced recently with the private circulation of a prospectus for a political magazine. Called *Project '68,* this new magazine promises to stimulate Republicans "who are not comfortable in today's version of their party," by reporting on efforts to reclaim the GOP from its conservative wing and giving star treatment to leading "moderate" prospects for the '68 nomination. The authors of the prospectus are Douglas Bailey, a Liberal political scientist from Ohio, and Boston lawyer David Goldberg, who is widely credited with engineering the Lodge miracle in New Hampshire last winter.

The editors of *Project '68* have spent some time studying the *modus operandi* of the Goldwater pre-convention campaign for the nomination: the meticulous selections and cultivation of convention delegates on a state-by-state basis. By 1968, the moderates intend to be fully organized. To this end, three of the champion vote-getters of the GOP's Liberal wing are being boomed for gubernatorial tries: Sen. Clifford Case of New Jersey, Sen. Thomas Kuchel of California, and Sen. Jacob Javits of New York (presuming, of course, that incumbent Gov. Rockefeller will remove himself gracefully). Governors, with their perquisites of state patronage, swing more weight in party councils than senators.

November 1964

► Some of the "moderates" are finding it hard to wait until the verdict of November 3 is in before making their power grab. *Ad hoc* organizations for punitive action against the Goldwater GOP have popped up across the country. Charles Taft's group—the National Committee to Support Moderate Republicans—has received the most attention. Its function, Taft says, is to channel support to progressive GOP congressmen who may be swamped by the anticipated LBJ deluge. (Rep. Robert Taft, now running for the Senate in Ohio, is the only congressman with a plus ACA rating to receive Uncle Charles' imprimatur.) Arthur Larson, head of the USIA in the Eisenhower Administration and author of the Liberal blueprint for the GOP, *A Republican Looks at His Party,* heads the Council for Civic Responsibility which has charged itself with extirpating the far Right from the American scene. And, here in Washington, a Committee for Forward-Looking Republicans has just been founded.

Ike, Dick, Bill

► Three of the brightest figures in the Republican Party are playing on the Goldwater team, and playing to the best of their abilities: Dwight Eisenhower, Richard Nixon and Gov. William Scranton of Pennsylvania. Ike has made himself available for important campaign assignments. He has also cued his friends in the party and the business community, and they are legion, to abjure public disaffection from the GOP: stay off the lists of Republicans and Independents for Johnson, keep quiet about any plans for recapturing the GOP. Preserve your usefulness to the party: that is his message.

Nixon has been a most pleasant surprise to the Goldwater people. He is now embarked on a month-long 36-state tour. From all accounts, he is reviving memories of the old, pre-1960 Nixon: an aggressive, non-stop campaigner with no second guesses. His job is twofold: first, to reassure the uneasy voters in the Republican heartland of the Midwest; and, second, to salvage certain local Republican candidates in areas where the LBJ tide runs high. He is doing his homework, and enjoying it.

On Bill Scranton's recently-completed 14-stop tour of Minnesota and Iowa he gave enthusiastic pro-Goldwater speeches, which included the apparently sincere belief that Goldwater would make a good President; and he twitted LBJ's "big daddy cult" with obvious relish. He will, in the coming weeks, crisscross Indiana, Illinois, and Connecticut, carrying his message to "cocktail Republicans"—split-level suburbanites who like their Republicanism warmed over. Scranton insists that he hopes to elect Goldwater, and then turn his full attention to Pennsylvania's chronic economic problems before he retires from politics in 1966, when his term expires.

Possibly

► Bill Scranton is following the pattern set by Barry Goldwater in 1960, after he had been turned down by the Republican Convention. Scranton is proving his Republicanism, while subtly reminding each audience of his own distinct views. And at each stop, he has extravagant praise for Republican moderates, who may be future allies: *e.g.* Rep. Clark MacGregor (R., Minn.) and Rep. Fred Schwengel (R., Iowa). While few criticisms can be made of Scranton's post-San Francisco behavior, it is rumored that Pennsylvania State GOP Chairman Craig Truax, who orchestrated Scranton's eleventh-hour bid for the nomination, has called a war council of leading moderates for November 5, 1964. —**CATO**

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What Hope for Maintaining a Conservative Opposition?

Don't believe it, says Mr. Dos Passos. What is going on is not the death struggle of the GOP but the birth of a coherent, effective conservative opposition

JOHN DOS PASSOS

We do have a tendency in this country to think of Presidential elections the way we think of big games. The association is obvious. The general election comes in the fall, sandwiched in between the World Series and the really important football games. Great masses of Americans can't help thinking of it as just another athletic contest. The tendency is to yell like hell for our team while the game is going on, and then, win or lose, to go home and forget it.

It is very much to be hoped that, no matter who wins the big game on November 3, the men and women who are devoting so much to the Goldwater campaign will not go home and forget it. Even with Goldwater elected the Democrats will remain the majority party. If he loses the election he will already have won a major political victory. His capture of the machinery of the Republican Party means that for the first time in many years, the basis exists in American politics for a really effective opposition.

The mouthpieces of the established order shout to high heaven that the Goldwater campaign is a flash in the pan. The Liberal columnists make a great show of bewailing the demise of the Republican Party. What they are hoping of course is that once this campaign's over no one will dare raise a dissident voice again. There's an excellent chance that these hopes will be dashed. In spite of hell and high water the Presidential campaign of 1964 may well prove to be the beginning of a consistent application of the force of minority opinion to the power structure in Washington.

If it does nothing else Barry Goldwater's capture of the Republican nomination has proved that dissent exists on a large enough scale to be politically effective. The enormity of his crime in the eyes of the diverse vested interests of the powers that be is that he has had the courage to dramatize that dissent.

Win or lose in November, the most important part of the contest has only begun for the conservatives. Ideas have a way of surviving defeat. If ideas are vigorous and cogent enough they can even survive victory. In the remoulding of the structure of government which is the underlying aim of every political movement it is not always the plan of the victor that dominates in the end. In English and American politics particularly the majority party which won at the polls has time and again found itself borrowing measures and methods from the rejected minority.

During the great days of British political life in the nineteenth century the loyal opposition became a recognized part of the machinery of parliamentary government. The institution has developed to the point where the party out of power is expected to designate a shadow cabinet and an aspirant prime minister ready to take over as soon as the party in power loses its majority. During the years of Bull Moose and of old Bob La Follette's Progressives we developed an organized dissent in Congress very nearly as formidable as a British opposition party. Since representatives of the Establishment of those days had very little in their heads beyond an awed subservience to big business, the ideas of the dissenters dominated the legislative process.

Ever since Franklin D. Roosevelt inaugurated our peculiarly American form of Caesarism with the policy of "Tax, tax, spend, spend, elect, elect," there has been no really consistent political opposition in this country. Voices have been raised in remonstrance against this or that policy. Robert Taft spoke up in the Senate again and again on the side of civilized decency and rational common sense. He had his personal following but it was never well enough organized to wrest the machinery of the Republican Party away from the timeservers. Young Bob La Follette tried to continue his father's tradition of disinterested public service, but somehow in the process he lost touch with his constituents and, much to his country's loss, with life itself. Everybody knows what happened to his successor in the Senate from Wisconsin when he tried to make political capital out of the Communist infiltration in Washington.

These were voices crying in the wilderness. They lacked the sort of support Senator Goldwater has been able to evoke: the young people carrying the word from house to house, organizing rallies, distributing literature, seeing that voters get to the polls, who are creating a new type of political pressure group.

It is a startling fact that during all the years since President Roosevelt's death, the most dedicated and continuing political movement in this country has been in the hands of the Communists. In spite of their small numbers, and the drawback

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of the visible failure, obvious to anybody who reads the newspapers, of the various Communist governments around the world to produce a livable regime for their victims, their propaganda has remained the dominant influence during the past twenty years. It will take a very courageous and dispassionate historian properly to evaluate the influence of Communist propaganda and intrigue on Washington policies between 1944 and 1964. It will take all the energy the young conservatives of America can muster to effectively counteract it.

Let me say right here that I'm not suggesting that American conservatives should copy Communist methods. While these methods are certainly worthy of careful study, the fact that their basic aim is the destruction of selfgoverning institutions makes them useless to those whose hope is to preserve the American system. Further Communist tactics have become so formalized by forty years of successful use that they would not be too difficult to detect and checkmate, if you could once get people to admit their existence. These tactics can be defeated by new and original political methods in the hands of knowledgeable and dedicated people. They cannot be defeated without intelligent and lasting organization.

A Voice in Congress

It is highly probable that enough conservatives will have seats in the next Congress to form, if they roughly coordinate their plan of action, a minority strong enough to be listened to. Courage and brains will tell in the end. Remember the immense influence the Irish MPs had in the British parliament during the years of agitation for Irish independence.

So long as there is a Democrat in the White House, conservative congressmen will have to reconcile themselves to being cut off from federal patronage. They will have to make a point of explaining to their constituents in each case exactly why this patronage is being denied. This tactic alone will bring the methods by which the President controls Congress out in the open and will help restore a little of their lost independence to the Senate and House.

The votes of the conservatives in Congress would be given much more weight if continuous campaigns were going on in the states and cities for the capture by conservatives of local administrations, for the repeal of undesirable measures and for the passage of laws encouraging individual liberty and local self government.

Such campaigns will be met by virulent counterattacks from entrenched officeholders. Conservatives

will need the encouragement and protection of a national organization roughly analogous to the organization for the Presidential campaign. No matter what happens on November 3 it is to be hoped that the conservative campaign will continue without a break. From the longterm view the congressional elections in '66 may prove every bit as important as the Presidential election in '64. The time will have come for such a campaign to present practical and affirmative projects. Conservatives will find themselves laying more emphasis on what they are for than on what they are against.

What we really need is a new edition of the Federalist Papers.

It was these public discussions between Hamilton and Madison and Jay that laid the theoretical groundwork for the Constitution of 1787. To rescue the aims of that Constitution from the inroads of the Supreme Court and of the executive bureaucracy a great deal of fresh thinking will be needed. That thinking will have to be based on a candid examination of American Government cf politicians.
as it really works, and not as it is described in the euphoric statements

The first consideration must be of ways and means to restore purpose and common sense to the foreign policy of the United States. What can be salvaged from the wreckage must be salvaged quickly. The present situation threatens not only the life and wellbeing of every American citizen but the survival of any kind of humane civilization in the world.

The bankruptcy of the policies of the State Department has been made painfully evident by the tragedy of Vietnam, the Congolese fiasco and the paralysis of the United Nations. The American people and particularly Washington officials must be made to understand that these disasters are no accident. They are the result of a long train of mistakes dating back to Franklin Roosevelt's deluded notion that it was good policy to help the Communists strip the European powers of their colonies.

In these twenty years our foreign policy can boast, on the credit side, of the restoration of Germany and Japan, and of the temporary return to sanity under Truman's Administration which resulted in the Marshall Plan and the rescue of Greece and Turkey. The rest of the story has been (with a few exceptions under Eisenhower and Dulles) of practical collaboration, under a smokescreen of anti-Communist palaver, with the Communists to destroy civilization in a large part of the world.

Bipartisanship in foreign policy has served as a cloak for innumerable follies and crimes. Had there been the sort of conservative opposition that now seems possible the protests of the conscientious and well informed men of both parties who have spoken out in remonstrance might have resulted in the curbing of some of the worst excesses of the Liberals in office.

Realpolitik & *the Opposition*

On the domestic scene the decisions which would have to be made by a conservative opposition are less urgent, but the problems are more complicated. For the purposes of a Presidential campaign, where everything has to be either black or white, it may be all right to talk about

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restoring free enterprise, but for practical purposes it will be necessary to spell out just exactly what that means.

As things stand today it is the mixed economies that are the going concerns. In the United States and in Western Europe and in Japan centralized direction of the economy through government control of credit and currency has on the whole worked pretty well. The semi-socialized, semi-capitalist nations—using the mass production techniques invented by free enterprise in America—are furnishing their populations with a material standard of living unheard of in human history. It is the completely socialized economies that have proved a failure. Most of them are only kept from starvation and collapse by food and subsidies furnished by the "imperialists" whom they denounce as their mortal enemies. Pure free enterprise, untrammelled by government controls or unassisted by government handouts, just does not exist in the world.

The business of a conservative opposition, to my way of thinking, would be to see that the inevitable greed for power of the men at the governmental controls didn't run away with the economy. The socialist side, "the public sector," as Washington officeholders like to call it, can readily be puffed up to the point of strangling the energies of the nation. Power breeds corruption as inevitably as a corpse breeds maggots. It will take all the political skill an opposition party can equip itself with to keep bureaucratic control within bounds. An economy isn't only statistics fed into a computer, it's men and women trying to make a living. An opposition party will have to work night and day to strengthen those elements in the mixed economy which offer the maximum scope for individual initiative and the maximum opportunity for youth and brains to come to the fore.

The vital drive, the biological urge for survival, which animates the conservative movement, springs from the feeling many young people have that the heavily socialized society they see being fostered by bureaucratic empire-building all around them will deprive them of the opportunity which their fathers had to develop their lives in freedom.

See How They Run

Wind the puppets: Blah-blah-blah!
Cheer the people's choice! Hurrah!
Plant the smear, and slant the story;
Add the sheer to oratory.
Humphrey, loose with logorrhea;
Adlai's UNomatopoeia;
Rauh and Reuther, COPE & CORE;
Baker? He ain't heah no more!

Whom it may concern, addressing,
May Hizzonor give the blessing:
Hail the magic name, no other!
To the Senate, Little Brother!
There, where profiles courage wear,
Sit with Teddy; chat with Pierre.
But close the shutters, bar the gate,
Lest Bobby run in ev'ry state!

Secretaries of the Rusk-kind
Sing along with David Susskind.
McNamara does his bit,
But winning isn't part of it.
Maxwell Taylor in Saigon,
Seeing what is going on,
Mumbles only, "Mum's the word."
(He got that straight from Daddybird.)

Doctor Gallup, Louis Harris
Henry-Cabot-Lodge-in-Paris,
Indonesia, Cyprus, Congo,
Castro's Cuba—Land of Bongo.
With Nikita, merry be;
Barry is the enemy!
Wind the puppets: Blah-blah-blah!
Cheer the people's choice! Hurrah!

OZZIE CASWELL

This problem of bureaucratic giantism is a poser. It's a problem that is recognized as urgent in Moscow even more than it is in Washington. It's a question of discovering a technique for the really efficient functioning of administrative offices. Under any regime modern society will demand a great deal of administrative and regulatory machinery. The problem is how to keep it efficient. There is a law of diminishing returns in bureaucratic bigness. Nobody has found a way of repealing the other law that applies, Parkinson's. Bureaucracies grow by their very nature; the more they grow the less efficiency they bring to the public service.

A very instructive investigation might be conducted by some future congressional committee to discover what proportion of the criminal ineptitude in Vietnam resulted from bureaucratic stagnation in the Pentagon and the CIA and the State Department, and what proportion resulted from mistaken policies of the top command.

What little we have been allowed to learn of Billie Sol Estes' activities in Washington reveals a weird lack of communication between various agencies of the Department of Agriculture. It is possible that we are approaching in Washington the state of affairs in Brazil, under Goulart and his gang of balmy Liberals and Communist wreckers, where, whether a man's business was legal or illegal, the only way he could get anything done was by bribing officials.

It took bureaucracy about three hundred years to bring *rigor mortis* to the Roman Empire. How long will it take to destroy the American republic?

The tasks laid out for a conservative opposition in this country are staggering to contemplate. With the campaign of 1964 rolling into history the time has come to plan for 1966.

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The Third World War

The Chinese Bomb

JAMES BURNHAM

Democratic politicians get trigger-happy as the hour of an election nears. It may be that Secretary of State Rusk shot off his announcement about a forthcoming Chinese nuclear explosion somewhat prematurely. His commander-in-chief no doubt figured he had better hedge: a public prediction by Rusk would blunt campaign repercussions from a Chinese bomb test if one did happen to come before November 3. Actually it may be delayed until well into 1965.

Burnham

From the beginning many Americans and Europeans have tried to pretend to themselves that the nuclear bomb was an accident—an unfortunate byproduct of the Second World War that must be wished away. Ban the Bomb! We of the original Nuclear Club would prevent the spread of the bomb. Then we were going to take our own bombs apart and sink them in the ocean or somewhere. Then all mankind, free of the fear of the bomb, could live happily ever after.

However, there is nothing in the least accidental about the appearance of nuclear bombs in the middle of the twentieth century. They are an inevitable product of the development of Western science and technology; and technology is one of the features of Western civilization that other peoples, granted certain resources, can take over if they want to strongly enough. The advance of physical science necessarily led to relativity and nuclear hypotheses; these, given a pragmatic interest, were necessarily correlated with practical applications in fission and fusion processes. Nuclear bombs are merely one type of such application. They are not monstrous progeny of insane Dr. Strangeloves. They are legitimate offspring of the entire scientific-technological tradition and the global community of physical scientists and technicians. To get rid of nuclear fission and fusion you would not only have to destroy somehow (it would not be easy) all existing fissionable material and all equipment capable of producing it, but in addition would have to slaughter all the living scientists and technicians and wipe out the scientific-technological tradition, smash all the laboratories and burn all the books.

Living With the Bomb

So the bombs are here to stay. They are going to keep on spreading just as they have been doing ever since the first one popped over the New Mexican desert. We shall have to learn to live with them, on occasion perhaps to die with them, just as we have had to learn to live and die with machine guns and cancer. (Machine guns have killed hundreds of times as many humans as have nuclear bombs; and cancer, thousands of times as many.)

In military terms the Chinese explosion will have little direct significance. The device used will be crude. China does not possess a suitable delivery system; and more generally neither has nor for many years will get, on its own, a major nuclear capability. But psychological and political significance is not always a simple derivative of military facts. The first Soviet A-bomb and the first Sputnik had psycho-political effects far in excess of their military weight. This may turn out to be true of the Chinese bomb. The psycho-political effect is in part a shock response, but partly, sometimes, a discounting of the future. From that point of view the big stir caused by the Soviet bomb and satellite now seem more or less justified. At any rate, according to the accepted view, unchallengeable U.S. nuclear predominance has been transformed since their appearance into a nuclear stalemate.

Politically, the initial result of the Soviet's first atomic explosion was to confirm and strengthen Western Europe's links with the United States. This happened because the West European nations a) wanted to defend themselves against the Soviet threat; b) felt they could not do so unaided; and c) believed the U.S. both could and would ensure their defense. If it had not been for the third point, they would have had to swing toward the Soviet orbit.

Vietnam and the Bomb

The Chinese test—even though a true nuclear capability is much further off than in the Soviet case—creates a situation in Asia and the South Seas comparable to what the 1949 Soviet test provoked in Europe. Japan, India, Pakistan, Indonesia, the Philippine Republic, Taiwan and the nations of the Southeast Asian peninsula, already under the Chinese shadow, will believe themselves menaced by a future Chinese threat that they cannot handle on their own. Some of them have, in fact, already reconciled themselves to Communism and probable Chinese overlordship. The others will have to estimate whether the U.S. can and will hold off China and the Communist enterprise. If they judge Yes, they will quite probably seek to strengthen their relations with the United States. If No, then the psycho-political effect will be a movement away from Washington and the West, through neutralism into the Chinese orbit.

The coming Chinese bomb, thus, will serve—is already serving through Rusk's prior release—to clarify the real nature of the struggle in South Vietnam. That is no mere "local" or "brushfire" affair. It is a critical battle in the war for Asia, the western Pacific and the South Seas. If we pull out in defeat—no matter what formulas may be used—we will have demonstrated our inability as defender. It will become next to certain that the whole vast region, sea and land, will shift into the camp of the enemy. Unless, that is, Norman Cousins and Steve Allen manage to turn the tide by getting SANE chapters started in Peking, Shanghai and Hankow.

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The "Bertie" Award

How the West Was Rapproched

VICTOR GOLD

What the Republican nominee is getting at, in plain old cowpoke language, is that sooner or later one side or the other is going to have to bite the dust. Why? Anybody who's seen a good old Gary Cooper movie knows why. Whoever heard of cowboys coexisting with Indians? Whoever heard of Wyatt Earp coexisting with Jesse James?

—Sen. J. W. Fulbright,
August 15, 1964

Who indeed, Senator? Why, we here at Unilateral Studios, that's who, and frankly, we can't understand why you didn't refer to our swinging coexistential flicks.

You see, Senator, while the big-spending *pop* moviemakers aim for the Oscar and the low-budget *art* crowd aims for Cannes, we at Unilateral like to think of ourselves as moderate-budget producers of *mission* movies. *We* aim for the little putty Aldermaston statuette of Lord Russell (the "Bertie"), and our scripts send a hot line message—even down to such a crass commercial film as *The Day the JCS Ate the Bronx* (how a Pentagon cabal seizes majority control of the New York Liberal Reform movement). In short, Unilateral is caught up in the urgency of a world sitting on the lip of the nuclear inferno, etc., and our message, in 26 different non-violent dialects, is *peace*.

Arnie Moran, our resident technical adviser on nuclear inferno and box office receipts, gave it to me straight not long ago. "We are living," said Arnie, "in the age of the Bomb." Monday morning's script conference at Unilateral Studios began by a discussion of the gross receipts on our last two productions. For the record: *Son of Seven Days in May* (all about how the Lancaster junta up and tried it *again* the following year); and *All's Quiet on the Anti-Western Front* (all about how the CIA is the *real* enemy).

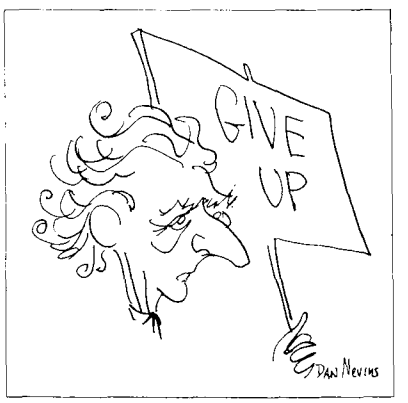
"We've run out the string on military-industrial monster movies," Arnie explained, moving a fast pencil down the balance sheet. "The trend is to Liberal Adult Westerns: new myths about old realities."

"*High Noon* for the multimegaton age," I nodded. "We write it around this small town marshal. A Wild Bill Hickock type, played by Randolph Scott."

"I think you mean *Prudent* Bill Hickock," Arnie answered evenly, "with David Susskind! This is a *peace* officer — mature, responsible and slow on the trigger. Challenged, he avoids both the escalation of a *High Noon* and the power confrontation of a *Shane*. Driven to action, he gives 24-hour notice—*at least*—so that the Dalton Boys won't miscomprehend his limited objectives. He won't tolerate dichotomies."

"No shooting from the hip," I noted, jotting furiously.

"Precisely," smiled Arnie. "A rational marshal—the kind who walks right smack into a village of rampaging Apaches, carrying only the



Code of Hammurabi in one hand and a letter of introduction from Sargent Shriver in the other, and says like: 'Come, let us reason together.'"

"So we bring in a new marshal," I said hopefully, "played by John Wayne?"

"You crazy?" snapped Arnie. "What happens is that the Apaches scrub off their war paint, the meaningful dialogue begins—"

"And we wrap up the reel," I cut in, "when the Apache chief, who represents the moderate wing of his tribe, subscribes to the Charter on Human Rights and forswears scalping in the atmosphere."

"Much better," Arnie replied, fondling his '63 "Bertie" statuette. "You see, our marshal is a *charismatic* lawman, one who seeks a community consensus in handling nagging local problems. As for example, when the James Gang periodically shoots up the Main Street Bank. Does Prudent Bill panic? Certainly not—he rejects the simplistic solution and coolly calculates some appropriate response."

"A Winchester?" I blurted, "and a posse?"

"A resolution of *censure!*" Arnie rumbled, the "Bertie" crashing to the desk top. "And on the Left, Podnah, the word is *committee*, not posse: in this instance, a Joint Citizen-Outlaw Committee to conciliate differences and heal the community schism. Out of which should emerge a ten-year, in-depth research program, bringing in the finest minds East of the Dakotas to study the underlying causes of anti-social behavior in the saloon district of Deadwood."

"Arnie, you're a genius," I finally found words. "Who else *but* Susskind?"

Which brings me, Senator, to the urgent reason for this particular Unilateral communication: namely, that it develops David S. is tied up with television commitments, so Arnie came up with this idea that maybe what we really want for the role of Prudent Bill is an authentic Southwestern hill-country boy, with just a *touch* of Oxford. Which specifications (we find after an extensive talent search) rather limit the field to you and Carl Albert. Frankly, Senator, I just can't see Carl as a box office draw in *Détente at the OK Corral*, can you? (It's all about how no matter what the other side says about burying us, nobody really has to bite the dust because when he said it, he *smiled*. You know?)

And so, what I'm getting at in plain old cowpoke language, is that if you're interested, don't write, wire. Better still, call. We here at Unilateral always keep that hot line open when peace is at stake.

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Principles and Heresies

What Consensus?

FRANK S. MEYER

FOR YEARS it has been an axiom not only in all "sophisticated" circles but wherever the Establishment could use the mass-communications network to hatch its eggs that the contemporary conservative movement and conservative ideas are "outside the American consensus." And for years it was possible to maintain this myth without doing too much violence to the surface facts. Whatever the underlying attitude of the American people in actuality remained, there was nowhere in the intellectual world, and only peripherally or occasionally in the political world, open or striking evidence to dispute the thesis of American consensus upon the moral beauty and existential rightness of the world that Franklin Roosevelt made.

Meyer

The development, in the last five or ten years, of a conscious and easily observable conservative movement, and the articulation of its attitudes on a high intellectual level, should have shattered the myth. Still, generally, it was sustained by ignoring the reality of a massive and solidly based opposition to the putative consensus. Or sometimes it was glanced at, only to be brushed aside as a fringe phenomenon, primarily expressing the reactions of persons in one way or another "psychologically disturbed."

Given this state of affairs intellectually and politically, it may have been possible until very recently to retain a semblance of intellectual honesty and still to speak of an American consensus excluding the conservative viewpoint. The underlying attitudes, beliefs and prejudices of a very large section of the American people could be disregarded because they were not articulated at the levels which force attention. The conservative movement could be, if one tried hard enough, conceived as a sport without roots in the body politic, without connections to the held beliefs of significant numbers of American citizens.

In the past couple of years, however, the momentum of the conservative movement has taken on such startling proportions that there no longer remains intellectually honest ground for the contention of a Liberal consensus. Nevertheless reality has failed to impinge. The same self-satisfied insistence that the only serious issues in this country are the issues at stake between different wings of Liberalism, that conservatism represents a perversity totally outside the real life of American society, has continued to prevail in Establishment thought and writing.

EVEN the nomination of Barry Goldwater by one of the two major American political parties has failed to shatter the myth of consensus. Indeed, a hypnotized acceptance of that myth may have had something to do with the comparative ineffectiveness of the opposition to Goldwater (frenzied though it was) in the campaign for the nomination. The powers-that-be simply could not believe that he and the forces he represents were to be taken seriously. They were blinded by their own rhetoric and rallied too late to present any stronger resistance than the farcical performance they put on at San Francisco.

In the aftermath of San Francisco, however, the Establishment has turned that liability into an asset and worked with all its energy to make it the decisive weapon of the campaign. Immensely fortified by the Liberal Republican rhetoric of the pre-nomination weeks, the Johnson campaign is essentially based on a single theme —a theme which is the translation into popular terms of the concept that conservatism is outside the national consensus. This is the meaning of the charge echoed on every level that Goldwater and the movement behind him represents "extremism." It must be admitted that this campaign is having its effects, particularly in the realm of foreign policy. Indeed, the results of the election, both as to victory and the margin of victory, will largely depend upon how great those effects are.

FOR THIRTY years the American people have heard the same Liberal rhetoric from both political parties; their deepest beliefs have never gone along with that rhetoric, but on the surface they have accepted it since nothing else has been offered them. The presentation on a mass scale of an articulated conservative position has precipitated a conflict approaching the traumatic, between deeply held beliefs and a confused sense of shame before the ridicule of the "sophisticated" organs of opinions. This conflict is, I believe, the cause of the widespread national phenomenon of a massive undecided vote. My soundings in half a dozen states indicate what is confirmed by such columnists as Evans and Novak (no friends of Goldwater), that 40 per cent to 50 per cent of the electorate is, at this late date in the campaign, undecided. This is utterly unprecedented. It is, despite all the trumpeting of a Johnson landslide, the most significant aspect of the campaign.

This undecided vote will determine the outcome of the election. Which way it swings will be decided by the answer to a single question: Will the American people vote their innermost convictions, or will they still be sufficiently in the thrall of the decades of Liberal monopoly of all the organs of articulation to feel to do so is somehow wrong, "extremist," un-American—that is, outside the American consensus?

Whatever the outcome, however, one thing is certain: conservative principles have been put forward on the highest political level and supported by a substantial section of the American people. The myth of an over-all American Liberal consensus, however useful it may have been to Liberalism in this campaign, will have been once and for all destroyed by the millions who vote for Barry Goldwater.

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From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

Destroying the American Past

These observations appear just a fortnight after American Landmarks Week, part of the American Landmarks Celebration that lasts until November 30. In association with UNESCO's "International Monuments Year," the National Trust for Historic Preservation is sponsoring this celebration.

Kirk

The valiant endeavors of the National Trust to save something out of the destruction of American buildings of historic interest and architectural importance need everyone's support. I have upon my desk, by way of grim reminder, a recent clipping from a Virginia newspaper. There are two pictures, and their caption is "Progress." The upper picture shows a venerable pillared mansion burning—set afire to clear the site. "Stately Ossian Hall, above, was built in 1730, and both Washington and Lafayette visited there." Below is a photograph of dreary new split-level houses, crowded nastily together. "In 1959 it was razed to make way for a subdivision, a part of which is shown below."

Such "progress," with great speed, is making this rich country of ours into an architectural abomination and a scenic wasteland. Out in Oklahoma, a reader of this page, Mr. Fritz Kaeser, is rightfully incensed at the rapid destruction of the principal buildings designed by the great architect Louis Sullivan, particularly his Garrick Theatre. And he writes, "America's disregard for its cultural heritage is unprecedented in world history. This is hardly an overstatement. It is a national tragedy that beneath our veneer of prosperity, America is rotting." As this correspondent suggests, mere erection of lifeless and isolated "cultural centers," does nothing to ensure or renew the organic cultural continuity which is expressed in our architectural heritage.

International cooperation to safeguard the visible legacy of civilization is as important a task as any branch of the United Nations can undertake; and one hopes fervently that UNESCO will succeed in saving the temples of Abu Simbel, in Egypt, from the waters of the Nile—rising already behind the Russian-built dam. But most architectural and scenic charm will be saved only if you and I brighten the corner where we are. In America, the sweep of gigantic new highways, the obliteration of the hearts of old cities by vaguely-conceived and badly-executed "urban renewal" projects, and the dismal sprawl of most suburban developments, have done more since the Second World War to efface the mementos of our great past than had all the bad taste and commercialism of all preceding American generations. Ours is the age of the bulldozer, when destruction is cheap and easy—although the creative imagination and the very skills of building seem atrophied.

How to Help

The place to commence a genuinely pious work of visible preservation and restoration is one's own community. In some cities, nearly everything has been swept away in the past two or three years. Still, much worth saving remains in nearly every state. For guidance in what should be done, and how to undertake it, one can turn to the numerous publications, or the more particular advice, of the National Trust for Historic Preservation (815 Seventeenth Street, NW, Washington 6, D.C.). It costs only ten dollars a year to be an active member of this private association, which is chartered by Congress and tax-exempt. I do commend the Trust to prospective benefactors, as well as to people who want to know what they can do to check the devastation of town and countryside.

It has long seemed curious to this writer that few of our many American charitable foundations take any interest in historical preservation—or in the amenities of the community. Such foundations have proudly perpetrated architectural atrocities in the buildings they have given American colleges—though perhaps the campus architects are the primary offenders; at any rate, the foundations have lacked the taste to govern their enormous benefactions. While millions in foundation grants have gone down the drain for projects designed by the Academy of Lagado, our fine public buildings, houses, and neighborhoods of yesteryear have been ignored by most donors.

A nation without landmarks sinks into bewilderment. New apartments have not made their inhabitants into new people—indeed, they seem to have injured the rising generation, in a good many cases. Why? For one thing, the landmarks have been destroyed. Nothing interesting or handsome or stable remains. People become utterly rootless, with the visible links of community, the sense of being part of something venerable and enduring, denied to them. Even the old taverns, with a touch of color and coziness, have been demolished. A sanitary wasteland extends to the community's horizon; and a bored generation looks for mischief to fill a vacuum of spirit. The very churches may have been knocked down to make room for parking lots, as their congregations have retreated to the suburbs.

Karl Marx predicted, with gloomy relish, that under Communism, town and countryside would merge in one blur, so that no man could tell where town ended and country commenced. No feature of a Communist society would be more hideous and inescapable than this; but we seem to be realizing it under "capitalist" prosperity. A society without pride in its visible past, and without concern for the beauty of its cities and its scenery, scarcely is worth fighting for. So the most successful subversive may be the man who, for profit or vainglory, eradicates the souvenirs of three American centuries.

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Questions Evaded

EDMUND FULLER

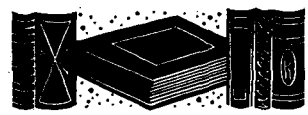
Running Scared is a tightly compressed first novel by Gregory McDonald. Its opening situation shows a bold mind at work. In a dormitory room at a university—unnamed but obviously Harvard—Tom Betancourt is calmly reading a book when the police, summoned by himself, arrive. On a bed lies his roommate and best friend, McKensie Case, a suicide with slashed wrists. The matter is kept quiet but one circumstance appals all those who know of it. Tom had watched his friend come in and kill himself. He had refrained from question, argument, or interference, simply reporting the event when it was over. Why had he not even tried to stop the suicide? Tom's answer is laconic: "He was free."

Tom elaborates this view under various challenges: "It's not as if it were an accident. He did it on purpose." "He died because he wanted to." In his reflections, "He supposed the Cases, in keeping with modern custom, had encouraged independence and resourcefulness in their children. But what a shock it would be for them to realize how one child had elected to express his freedom. He had been free enough to kill himself. But Tom thought of it coldly and analytically. He was not sure whether or not he would offer them any sympathy."

This provocative situation opens questions of responsibility, freedom, detachment, involvement. Tom is more than detached, he is anesthetized, alienated. Handsome, intelligent, "perfect" in the eyes of some, he has no small talk, no small courtesy; not that he is discourteous, he simply ignores most rites and formulations we call courtesy.

He withdraws from the university ("I would no longer feel free here"). Briefly he visits his New York home, the immensely rich, preoccupied father, the self-centered mother and her openly accepted lover, the servants who stood *in loco parentis*. Then he goes to Cape Cod, incognito, curious to meet the dead boy's sister Ellen, for close as the boys had been, Tom had met none of Case's family. He and Ellen fall in love in the course of a summer. The time comes when it is necessary to confess his identity—the aftermath you must find out for yourself.

There are contrivances throughout, disturbing, but reasonably acceptable if they were to be the formal framework for an examination of profound questions. Unhappily, the questions



are evaded. The book never explores the motive of the suicide, even speculatively; it is ignored as not important, as if Tom's apparent lack of interest were all that is important. Whatever the motive, the deed was not the free act Tom thinks it to be. He knows nothing of freedom—is not free himself.

The homes of both boys are economically and socially privileged but emotionally destructive. Are the parents then to take the rap? Nothing in the background sufficiently "explains" Tom or the dead boy, making their actions inevitable. Their considerable responsibility for themselves is not examined. Tom has rejected involvement and love because he believes they would destroy him. The neat irony of the book's violent climax fails by its arbitrariness. There is no grand inevitability to the behavior of any of the principals at that point—the author's manipulating hand is exposed. A theme worthy of Dostoevsky or Camus and a dramatic device of arresting effect come in the end only to melodrama.

Max Shulman's *Anyone Got a Match?* is the latest in his long succession of popular comic novels and stories. It is broad farce, genuinely funny in patches, merely tasteless in others. It is about a cigarette tycoon who counterattacks the anti-cigarette campaign by financing an exposé of food on TV. Parts of it seem like a farcical *Jungle* by an antic Upton Sinclair who, in this instance, aiming for the nation's funny bone hits it in the stomach instead.

Hollywood, TV, and advertising are worn-out targets but one of the liveliest characters in the book, involved in its bedroom farce and its social satire alike, is Ira Shapian, vice-president of a TV network. Asked, "Daddy, what do you do at the office?" he replies, "I *nice*." This is a transitive verb meaning "to inspire confidence" and in a suspicion-saturated industry it's a million-dollar talent.

In the big exposé, Ira crosses up everybody to regain his integrity by getting himself barred from commercial TV. Thereupon he and his wife devote themselves to a Negro TV station in Birmingham, to which the tobacco tycoon donates five million dollars after winning a race relations award. This is a Liberal's fantasy that Mr. Shulman doesn't expect any of us to believe.

The freshest note in the book is on race relations. Self-interest is offered as the best hope—as in the case of the tycoon who maintains racial harmony in his towns and factories because it's good for business. Such white pragmatism, Shulman suggests, will bring more gains now than

Running Scared, by Gregory McDonald. Obolensky, $4.50

Anyone Got a Match? by Max Shulman. Harper, $4.95

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Negro militancy. He puts in the mouth of a sociologist: "What too many of you lose sight of, my dusky countrymen, is that when the smoke clears—and it finally will—you are going to have to live alongside your white neighbors."

Shulman lets some zealous researchers build up a horrifying case against harmful foods and then introduces a father-image scientist to reassure us with generalities, which could equally well reassure us about tobacco except that Shulman won't have it so. I suspect that everything we eat, drink, smoke, or do is bad for us, but I shall continue all my habits for I have other worries ahead of them and I *don't* want to live forever.

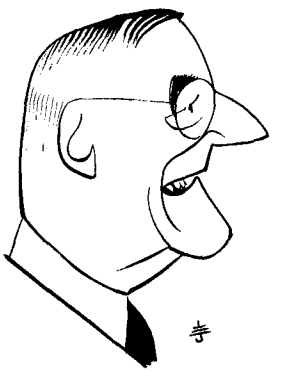
Diplomatic Folly

GEORGE FIELDING ELIOT

MR. FINER'S BOOK deals with the Suez crisis of 1956, and its target is the U.S. Secretary of State at that time, John Foster Dulles. Indeed, with due deference to Demosthenes, it may be described as a Philippic against Dulles as a statesman and as a personality, as well as against the Dulles theory and practice of diplomacy and above all against the Dulles concept of the aims of American foreign policy. Finer is relatively untroubled by any modest diffidence about the validity of his own conclusions; his presentation suffers from over-eagerness to support, emphasize and press fully home each successive detail of his indictment. A public prosecutor pursuing such tactics must risk stirring up the sympathy of jurors for the luckless defendant; so also with Mr. Finer, despite the undeniable force of his argument.

He charges that Secretary Dulles, fully trusted by President Eisenhower and in complete control of United States foreign policy, became the architect of disaster for our two principal allies, Great Britain and France, in the crisis which arose over the seizure of the Suez Canal by Egypt's President Nasser after Dulles had abruptly terminated American support of Nasser's cherished Aswan Dam project. The motivation of Dulles' policy he ascribes, at bottom, to fear of war and an obsession with the "rule of law" and the outlawry of force as an instrument of national policy. As a side issue, Dulles is represented as wanting to prevent a debate of the Suez question in the United Nations, for fear that somebody might be unkind enough to drag in the question of American control of the Panama Canal and embarrass the United States.

Therefore, Mr. Finer asserts, Secretary Dulles employed guile and



duplicity which produced wearing delays and undermined the Anglo-French position, while failing to make clear to our Allies that the United States was unalterably opposed to the use of force against Nasser under any circumstances whatsoever. During the whole discussion, lasting from July through October 1956, force was continually referred to as a final resort if no other solution could be found: then, when at last the British and French, following the example of the Israelis, applied force, the indignation of Dulles and of the President knew no bounds. Dulles turned "savagely" on our Allies, led the denunciation of their conduct in the UN, applied threats and pressure to force them to withdraw and insisted that they must not be allowed to profit from their aggression."

The consequences of this policy have unquestionably been disastrous. Mr. Finer lists them as including the serious and perhaps fatal weakening of NATO, the demands of other NATO members for atomic weapons, the "crisis of confidence" in Europe as to America's nuclear deterrent and/or American will to use it in a crisis, the independent course now being pursued by de Gaulle, and the fact that the Suez Canal has come wholly under Egyptian national control.

With these consequential conclusions it is difficult to find much fault. This reviewer certainly agrees most heartily that the interests of the United Kingdom and the free world would have been well served if "Nasser had been shown that petty dictators, holding strategically located territory, would not be allowed to violate treaties with impunity." The result might, as Mr. Finer observes, have been salutary in regard to Comrade Fidel and Indonesia's ebullient Sukarno. Also there seems no doubt that the Kremlin was led to believe that it had again outbluffed us by its threats of "rocket retaliation" and "volunteers."

But there is one more point on which Mr. Finer is right—and which cancels out all the rest. The time to call a halt to Nasser was in 1955, when his deal for acquiring Soviet arms first became known. It should then and there have quietly been made clear both to the Kremlin and to Nasser that under the current unsettled conditions in the Middle East the delivery of Soviet weapons to Egypt would not be permitted, and that blockade would be used if necessary. This was urged on Secretary Dulles, who answered that "blockade is an act of war." From this initial insistence on relying on legal definitions to resolve a question of practical foreign policy flowed all the other consequences that ensued.

Which is, of course, no excuse for the folly and bad faith shown in our abandonment of our strongest allies in their hour of trial—or the lack of plain horse sense, if moral considerations be laid aside. It is altogether a sad and shocking story. One could wish it had been told with somewhat less of vindictive violence, but it is a story that Americans can read with profit just the same.

Dulles Over Suez: The Theory and Practice of His Diplomacy, by Herman Finer. Quadrangle, $7.50

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A Guide To Be Used

JULIUS EPSTEIN

THE APPEARANCE of the American version of the *Handbook on Communism,* which was first published in Germany and later in England, is an event of great importance. Its 686 pages, which cover

Handbook On Communism, edited by Joseph M. Bochenski and Gerhart Niemeyer. Praeger, $10.00

a tremendous field of knowledge, are not, of course, supposed to be read from cover to cover; it is intended as a reference work and deals with fifteen important subjects, among them the structure of Communism (by Joseph M. Bochenski), Communist political doctrine (by Gerhart Niemeyer), the methodology of conquest (by Stefan T. Possony, John S. Reshetar Jr., and W. W. Kulski), the Communist Party (by John S. Reshetar Jr.), Soviet imperialism (by Jan Librach), the peasants (by Karl Wittfogel), and the Soviet economy (by Ralph James).

In spite of the wealth of material published during the last decades, the book fills a gap. It is a most valuable guide through the labyrinth of that material, and its 15-page bibliography gives a short synopsis of the classical literature on Communism from Marx to Djilas. It covers the development of Communism in theory and, more important, in practice from 1917 until today with special emphasis on the post-Stalin era. That era, with its seeming deviations from Lenin's and Stalin's theories, can best be characterized by quoting a paragraph from the foreword by the editors:

> It would, however, be a fatal error to assume that these symptoms of decomposition mean the end of Communism as we know it. First of all, nothing justifies the assumption that the decomposition will automatically continue until Communism has disappeared. Secondly, one must remember that the anti-Communist tendencies among the ruling strata are offset by the solid, monolithic Communism firmly entrenched in the Party leadership. Among these leaders, Leninism continued to be the ideological motivation in the governing of Russia, China, and the entire Soviet empire. There is no evidence that the enormous strength of this power structure is exhausted. It would be a dangerous weakness on our part to indulge in the wishful thinking that Communism has finally begun to make itself over in our image. There is ample proof that Communism continues to be what it has been since its beginning. As far as theory is concerned, all leading Communists strongly insist on their faithfulness to Lenin and his principles. No Communist-ruled country has abandoned the principle of one-party rule, and the examples of Hungary and, partly, Poland—as well as the most recent purges in Russia—show that democracy is not tolerated within the Party.

It is impossible in a brief review to deal with the *Handbook* in its entirety, but two or three masterly papers may be singled out. In the opening essay, "The Structure of Communism," Bochenski succeeds in giving the quintessence of the philosophical as well as practical structure of the Communist world movement as envisioned by Lenin. This treatise on the psychological, emotional and intellectual appeal of Communism is a brilliant piece of writing; it is neither boring nor academic, two of the great shortcomings of all too many books on Communism. It encompasses the whole scale of humanity's desire to change the world into a paradise and it explains with thoroughness the Communist's use of that desire. At the same time, it does not simplify the enormous complexity of the problem and makes plausible the blind adherence of Communists to the myriads of operational shifts.

"The Methodology of Conquest," by Reshetar, Possony, and Kulski, deals with the guiding principles of external Party action and the rules of the Communist strategy of con-

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Books Abroad

● THE POET & THE PILOT: Some years ago English poet John Wain wrote a much publicized poem about Claude Eatherly, the International - Symbol - of - Guilt. That was before William Huie published his book *The Hiroshima Pilot*, story of the Eatherly hoax. Reviewing Huie's book for the *London Observer*, Wain refuses to face the facts, but simply says that his poem was "true" in a larger sense than mere historic detail.

● MANUSCRIPTS: Among the most interesting material for sale in London at the moment is the manuscript of Samuel Beckett's first novel, *Murphy*. It takes up six quarto notebooks and is heavily revised, containing many passages left out of the final version. It is being offered by Bertram Rota, whose shop in Vigo Street, London is probably the most important in the world for modern first editions and manuscripts. Other material at Rota's includes the manuscript of Richard Llewellyn's first and most famous novel, *How Green Was My Valley* and a batch of letters and scripts to do with the "Homage to Dylan Thomas" recital held at the Globe Theatre in London on 24 January 1954. An autograph note from Augustus John concerning his portrait of Thomas says "Dylan's sittings could be measured by the pint. This portrait took about a dozen pints of light ale."

● AMERICAN IN PARIS: L'Herne publishers in Paris, who have been bringing out large and impressive collections (containing essays, memoirs, unpublished texts, etc.) devoted to such writers as Bernanos, Celine and Borges, are now preparing a volume on Ezra Pound. Future collections will revolve around Alfred Hitchcock and Robert Musil.

● BREVIORA: Parts of Evelyn Waugh's autobiography (*A Little Learning*) have appeared in the *Sunday Times*. The book is due from Chapman & Hall, London in the autumn . . . . a monograph is being prepared at Reading University (England) on publisher Elkin Mathews, whose small London office saw many fine works into print, including James Joyce's *Chamber Music* (1907) and William Carlos Williams' first public book, *The Tempers* (1913). . . . Italian journalist, novelist and poet Carlo Scarfoglio, whose family newspaper at Naples suffered under Fascism, has just published an Italian translation (Scheiwiller, Milan) of Ezra Pound's English versions of the *Confucian Odes*.

quest. Without introductory evasions, it confronts the reader in its very first sentence with the basic problem: "The Communists employ diverse tactics and use any and all means, legal and illegal, in pursuing their goal of obtaining power and, once obtained, of expanding it." Well documented by quotations from Lenin's works, it gives the student reader a practical weapon to be used in the unending political discussion with Communists, pseudo-Communists and a whole variety of fellow travelers. The question always arises: "Where did Lenin, Stalin or Khrushchev say this?" The inability to render a prompt answer, quoting chapter and verse more often than not gives an undeserved advantage to the Communist or pro-Communist challenger who usually denies, despite his better knowledge of course, that Lenin, Stalin or Khrushchev ever said such a thing.

Part of this chapter is a treatise on the rules of strategy and the doctrine of conflict, a treatise which includes this excellent characterization of the Communist doctrine of "neutralization":

> Neutralization is a minimal objective. It is only an initial phase designed to lead to an increase of the forces under direct or indirect Communist command. The neutralized groups thus may later become the Communists' allies. But after they have served their purpose they will in turn be dropped, isolated, and destroyed. The strategy aims at breaking the entire

Speaking Up . . .

M. Catherine Babcock is happy to announce that William F. Rickenbacker author and senior editor for *National Review*, is currently available for speaking engagements this Fall and Winter. Some of his most popular topics include: "Business and Politics," "The Conservative Movement Today," "Reflections on American Foreign Policy," and "Conservative Economics."

Your university or club can also write for openings in the Fall and Winter schedules of our other speakers: William A. Rusher, publisher of *National Review;* Frank S. Meyer, NR editor and editor of *What Is Conservatism?;* Ralph de Toledano, syndicated columnist and author of *The Winning Side;* L. Brent Bozell, attorney, author and lecturer; Russell Kirk, prolific author, professor and lecturer; Dr. Anthony T. Bouscaren, writer, professor of Political Science; Ernest van den Haag, psychoanalyst and professor of social philosophy; Erik Ritter von Kuehnelt-Leddihn, linguist and author; Dr. Thomas Molnar, lecturer and author of *The Failure of the Counterrevolution.*

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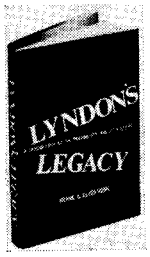

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non-Communist camp into small and disjointed fragments and at preventing the possibility of their standing united and firm against the Communist attack.

Chapter X, "The Peasants," by Karl Wittfogel, long the outstanding expert on Communist agricultural theory and practice as well as on Mao, deserves special attention. I have seen no other writing which so clearly deals with rural conditions under Communism and with the Bolshevist doublecross of the peasants. Wittfogel runs the whole gamut from the first Communist propaganda lies and the short range effects of the revolution "which temporarily may benefit the peasants," to the bitter end, "which involves the liquidation of the entire peasantry as a class of small proprietors and producers."

In my view, there are only two shortcomings in the *Handbook*. It does not contain an appendix with the most important Communist documents, such as the *Manifesto*, the resolutions of the more important Soviet Party Congresses (for instance, the Sixth), the early and later proclamations of the Soviet Government, the Stalin-Hitler pact, the illustrative speeches by Stalin and Molotov delivered shortly before World War II, etc. The other shortcoming is to be found in the notes. Whenever Russian sources are referred to, it is not stated whether this source material is available in English and where it can be found. This information would be of great help to the majority of readers who do not read Russian. Nevertheless, the editors and authors have produced an immensely useful book which is certain to become a standard reference work on the problems of Communism and Soviet reality.

Men and Manners

The America's Cup

SIR SHANE LESLIE

No trophy has ever been fought for so gallantly, magnanimously and bitterly as the Cup which the yacht *America* snatched from a fleet of English yachts in 1851 under the eyes of Queen Victoria. As she had presented the Cup, she might hope to hear of its recovery. But five Sovereigns have waited in vain to return it to the Crown Jewels guarded in the Tower! Time after time the Australians capture or lose the silverware containing the "Ashes of English Cricket," but the tears of English yachtsmen have never been assuaged.

As England fails, there have been challenges from Canada and Australia. Thanks to Sir Thomas Lipton there was a challenge from an Irish Yacht Club. Hence the series of *Shamrocks* accompanied by the *Erin* which retired to be sunk in World War I. The racing was held up during the Crimean War, during the War between the States, and *Shamrock IV* was actually on the way when England declared war on Germany. Though thrones and empires fell, capitals and fortresses were captured, the America's Cup stayed like the symbol of the impregnable United States.

There were some narrow shaves between early competitors, but the series of Lord Dunraven's *Valkyries* led to bad blood between yachtsmen, and even comic declarations of war between Wall Street and Threadneedle Street. In 1855 Sir Richard Sutton had sportingly refused to win a race on a foul, declaring "we have come over for a race and not a sail-over." In 1893 Dunraven came near to success with *Valkyrie II,* but after a splendid series of races, the defending *Vigilant* was able to win. Dunraven took this defeat well and challenged with *Valkyrie III* the next year. He won a race but was disallowed on a foul. Mr. Iselin, owner of the *Defender,* generously offered to resail the race. Unluckily Dunraven believed he had won, but was willing to sail the next race provided the vast fleet of commer-

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cialized spectators were marshalled in order. They proved worse than ever, and Dunraven withdrew at the start of the race and returned to England.

At this stage I beg to publish a letter written to myself by Sir Hercules Langrishe, Dunraven's representative on the American boat in the first series of 1893: "I sailed alternately on *Valkyrie* and *Vigilant*, as representative of the R.Y.S. I called on Olly Iselin, owner of the *Vigilant*, on his steam yacht, was received with the utmost courtesy and at my request I examined *Vigilant* inside and out. I laughingly suggested that in the event of *Vigilant* winning some people might say that ballast has been shifted and with the help of Mr. Iselin I marked by eye the spot where the waterline cut fore and aft. Everything went off without the slightest hitch and it is the greatest pity that Dunraven had no one to advise him during his second effort." This shows that Dunraven's best friend grieved that he could not control his Irish temper.

After this second series Dunraven published an accusation in the English papers that the *Defender* had altered her ballast between races and that he himself had looked the next morning and found her "visibly deeper in the water." This of course meant an indignant committee and a 500-page report by the New York Yacht Club, which like the Jutland dispatches is described as "unpalatable"; but Iselin was exonerated and Dunraven expelled from the New York Yacht Club. Yachting sentiment between the two countries languished considerably and Dunraven's friends, including the Prince of Wales, were deeply chagrined. It has been said that the affair was the result of an attack of gout, to which Dunraven was liable, but that is not enough. I knew him in his last days and asked him if after years of brooding he would leave me a last word to refer to Americans after his death.

After long reflection he had concluded that he might have been wrong, and for this reason: he had used the American tender to carry him past the anchored *Defender*. It was then he felt certain that the waterline had been shifted and therefore ballast had been changed. But he now felt it was possible that at the excitement of seeing their rival

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Prof. Henry Paolucci, Conservative Party candidate for U.S. Senator.

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The Time: 8:30 P.M.

Admission: $1.00 (students free)

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face to face, the whole crew of the *Defender* had rushed across the boat and the weight of seventy men was sufficient to have altered the waterline for the moment. This was possibly what happened.

He was hopelessly wrong in assailing a committee as sporting as himself. Dunraven was a very small adventurous man with a quixotic temper. He accompanied the British forces in the Abyssinian campaign as a correspondent. He was present at Versailles when the German Empire was proclaimed. He pioneered in the Rockies reaching early Denver by stage coach. The National Park of Estes was the Garden of Eden he later passed over to the American public. General Custer had invited him to join the famous cavalry raid from which Custer did not return. I learnt these memories and many others while attempting his biography. His was a wonderful life, but too constantly he played his cards wrong or he would have ended as President of the Irish Free State. My last memory must be of him sailing his steam yacht on war service in the Mediterranean.

If yachtsmen on both sides would like to record some of the lighter exchanges between the Stock Exchanges at the time let them conclude this sketch. The English cabled their hope that in case of war the American excursion steamers would not get in the way of the British Fleet. The reply from New York expressed the hope that the British warships would be better than their yachts.

May I add that the Powers should be persuaded to enter international contests with their sportsmen rather than their diplomatists. They might keep world peace.

Records

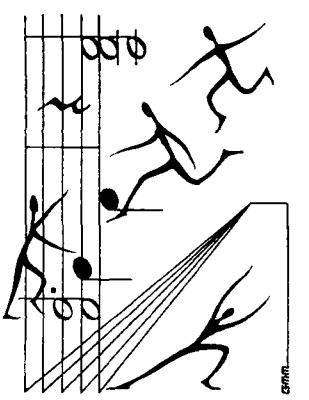
The Wonderful Musicals

RALPH DE TOLEDANO

SECRET OR PUBLIC, every man has a love affair with the theater. As the house lights dim and the curtain begins to rise, he hugs his joy to himself, secure in the knowledge that no electronic magic can replace the moment when the first voices, brassy and projected as they always are, come across the footlights. But this very particular pleasure is multiplied if it is a musical comedy that he is to see. The orchestra has proclaimed the overture. The moment is here.

For the musical deals more purely with reality, with the true and the good, with the image and the dream, than serious drama or the problem play. The good musical is the sophisticated expression of the American folk—as sly, as witty, as the melodies and the legends that grew up along the great rivers of this singing, sorrowing land. The idiom is American as nothing else can be. It is urban and rural, mannered and direct, harsh and mawkish. Gilbert and Sullivan did less for England, Purcell but little more. Were Berlioz alive and American, he would be writing for Broadway—distilling the essence of Negro, Jew, and Western European in our culture—being of it and with it but never above it.

I lose patience with those who politely flutter over *The Barber of Seville*—which frankly gives me the *longueurs*—but can work up no enthusiasm for the here and now of Rodgers & Hart, of Frank Loesser, of Cole Porter, of Lerner & Loewe. The snobbishness demonstrated by those who doze at the Met and come awake in the West Forties may, however, be the fault of the critics. Musical comedy is "reviewed," and by the Grub Street anthologists of the daily press. "Serious" musical theater falls to the lot of "serious" writers who have taken three decades to progress from Gershwin's *Porgy and Bess* (after all, Lawrence Tibbett and



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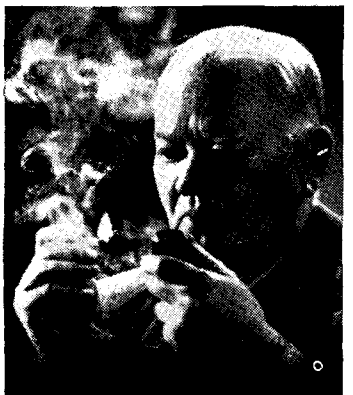

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Helen Jepson starred in it) to Kurt Weill's *Die Dreigroschenoper*. Precious little has been written of the musical comedy stage—and that little has frequently been out of left field by Northern Dancer.

The homily gone and forgotten, it should be recalled that Weill was aware of all this in 1928 when he collaborated with Bertold Brecht in *Die Dreigroschenoper*. Subsequent performances, ironically by Americans, have eroded the abrasive brilliance of that book and score—corrupt and aching, an American *genre* pushing through the mud of post-bellum Berlin. The original cast recording, dubbed on LP by Capitol-Telefunken (P-8117, if you can still find it) makes my point just about as bitterly as it can be made.

It can be made far more cogently by focusing your attention and lending your ears to a half-dozen of the strictly American product. Neither *Oklahoma* nor *South Pacific* are in this exclusive company although neither of these works is, in Mark Twain's word, a slouch. Rodgers & Hart is—and I use the singular advisedly—represented on my list three times. This disproportion does an injustice to other writers of musical comedy who have not been fortunate enough to be properly recorded—Irving Berlin, Jerome Kern, and the Gershwins are among them. But let me add that if I had chosen a dozen musical comedies as my witnesses in this inquest, six would have been by Richard Rodgers and Lorenz Hart. I wish Columbia Records would go about the business of returning to us, via the singing of Portia Nelson and others, *I Married An Angel*, *I'd Rather Be Right*, and *Connecticut Yankee*, just as starters.

LET ME LIST the present ration:

Rodgers & Hart, *The Boys From Syracuse* (Columbia OL 7080), a rollicking score claiming a tenuous relationship with Shakespeare's *A Comedy of Errors*, featuring not enough of Portia Nelson (but *Falling in Love With Love* should be enough) and the delicately moving *You Have Cast Your Shadow on the Sea*.

Pal Joey, also Rodgers & Hart and perhaps the greatest musical of them all (OL 4364). When it opened in 1940, the critics were dubious over satire which cut so close to the bone. John O'Hara's name was on it, and Gene Kelly's dancing gave it *brio*,

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but it failed. The Columbia album revived it and opened the door for a long Broadway run a decade later.

R & H again, *On Your Toes,* (Columbia 7090) a delight of the mid-1930s which brought Ray Bolger, Tamara Geva, and Monty Woolley together. *There's A Small Hotel* and the ballet *Slaughter on Tenth Avenue* caught the public attention, but *It's Too Good For The Average Man* with its plunging needle and Portia Nelson's wonderfully evocative *Quiet Night* take top honors in this recording.

In my book, the only rival to *Pal Joey* is the Frank Loesser *Guys & Dolls* (Decca DL 8036) which is what *Die Dreigroschenoper* would have been with the *rigor mortis* removed. I have seen this done by good and bad companies, but the score always triumphs over the actors—or helps them transcend their limitations.

My Fair Lady (Columbia OL 5090) is, of course, a *tour de force*—all tower, all strength, in its American transmogrification of the British music hall manner. But the Lerner and Loewe score is, in its essence, a product of Broadway from the *Wouldn't It Be Loverly* (what Englishman would think of that!) to the poignant *I've Grown Accustomed To Her Face.*

Cole Porter has written many lovely or amusing songs. But they are isolated examples of his great gift as composer and lyricist. In *Kiss Me, Kate* (Capitol TAO 1267), Porter wrote a score that stands up from beginning to end. It is my favorite of all the Porter, perhaps because it has no caterwauling Ethel Merman—and if this be treason, make the most of it. If you want the Porter songs, Ella Fitzgerald does an album of them as well as anybody else in the business. *Kiss Me* is musical comedy, and a long jump from *The Taming of the Shrew.*

In listing these six, I have been unkind to other magnificent musical comedy scores. Gershwin's *Girl Crazy* almost makes the honor roll—but not quite. *Of Thee I Sing* succeeded because of the Morrie Ryskind book, and the score has faded. But all of these musical comedies have one thing in common. They are our gift to the world's store of musical pleasure—ours even though you and I may contribute only by applauding.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

The Naked Martini, by John Leonard (Delacorte, $3.95). It was inevitable that John Leonard should go through this book (a novel of blasé youth, deracinated, talkative), and I am glad it is over both because he has produced as good, probably a better book than any of that family; and because, having mastered the genre, he will probably not again be tempted to spend himself on it. This I venture because Mr. Leonard is the kind of writer, and the kind of person, who outgrows the temptation to dissipate his literary career on the road. *The Naked Martini* is about the most boring hero who ever graduated from Harvard, full of a sort of detached self-pity which he massages by opening his mouth under a spigot of alcohol while coupling with the nearest female around. It is all made bearable by the groovy small talk. He: "All night long I read French novels, and I listen to these old John McCormack records. That's the kind of guy I am, Jill. I smoke non-filter-tip cigarettes because I want to live dangerously. I'm even thinking of growing a mustache." "My father hates Tom Dewey." "Well, then, in that case I won't grow a mustache. Would you like another martini?" No, one naked martini is quite enough. But it was very good indeed, thank you.

W. F. BUCKLEY JR.

Barry Goldwater, by James M. Berry (Newsbook, published by the *National Observer*, $1.). The second in the series of topical Newsbooks being published by the *National Observer* is a fair-minded presentation of Barry Goldwater. It's all here: personal history, his career in politics from its beginnings in Phoenix, his role as "Mr. Conservative," his Senate voting record, the ups and downs of the primary campaign and the dramatic finish at the Cow Palace. A chapter is devoted to his running mate, William E. Miller, and to "the men around him." Appended are the texts of his acceptance speech, the Senate speeches on civil rights and the nuclear test-ban treaty, speeches on the UN, foreign policy, and spending and taxation. Besides being informative and non-partisan, it has lots of pictures—and good ones.

F. S. MEYER

Boulwarism, by Herbert R. Northrup (University of Michigan, $5.00). The subtitle will help those who have not heard of Lemuel Boulware's work in employee relations: "The Labor Relations Policies of the General Electric Company: Their Implications for Public Policy and Management Action." For a short time Professor Northrup was a consultant to GE; for a long time he reflected on his experiences; satisfied that the passage of time and his return to academic life had granted him the gift of objectivity, he settled down to this essay. It jangles many a nerve: the history of GE (including the woeful anti-trust case), the history of the UE and IUE, the tendency of labor law, the bias of the NLRB, freedom of speech, and, of course, James Carey. Northrup makes a pleasing brief for the paternalistic-turned-Boulwaristic labor policies of GE, citing the growth in hourly wages and the lack of work stoppages in the past two decades; but the other side of the coin is known amongst investors — the growth of profits in GE has been very slight indeed, when compared with other giants such as GM and Jersey. For libertarians the heart of this book is in the analysis of the workings of the labor law as administered by the NLRB. A noble idea, couched in an innocent phrase, invites arbitrary administration; law after law is passed to inhibit the arbitrariness of the administration; the law becomes complex, inscrutable, therefore inviting legalistic *jeux d'esprit;* while the principals involved, the employee and the manager, grow ever more separated by legions of spokesmen, arbiters, experts, attorneys, mediators, legislators, Presidents, boards, courts, committees, witenagemots, and brimborionic amphictyons. It will not do. Eventually we will return to fundamental negotiation, in which a man seeking work and a manager seeking workmen agree on a wage. After all, we are all in business together.

W. F. RICKENBACKER

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TO THE EDITOR

(Continued from p. 892)

was "The True Prophet." In a period of nine months, one was usually required to read a dozen or so of his repetitious and trite tracts. I can recall one professor saying, as he waved his arms and rolled his eyes —it could have been a seizure, of course—"That is alright, they may have the machine guns but we have the numbers." As you can see, this was good growing ground for the decline of moral standards, for the downfall of our economic system and for puppet politicians.

San Mateo, Calif. R. L. NELSON

MRA Defended

The article of Sept. 22 by Russell Kirk, "Recrudescent Moral Disarmament," discredits any claim your magazine may have to accuracy, honesty or responsibility.

Can the NATIONAL REVIEW be so unaware of the practical impact of the work of Moral Re-Armament at a time of widespread corruption and declining national integrity?

New York, N.Y. S. E. MOORE

[Russell Kirk's] article on Moral Re-Armament was a great misfortune . . . as those who have had first hand experience with MRA will recognize at once. . . . The editors and readers of NATIONAL REVIEW deserve a different look at Moral Re-Armament. May I suggest that you give it to them pronto!

Fort Myers Beach, Fla. ROBLEY GEDDES

Coming up. —ED.

Word from California

In his most enlightening and encouraging column on possible conservative gains in the U.S. Senate [Oct. 6] Cato left out any mention of what will be the most important conservative Senate victory in November. George Murphy is going to send Pierre Salinger back to Ole Virginny, and Pat Brown's political machine will be much the worse for wear.

Lest these predictions be construed merely as the rantings of a devoted Murphy campaign worker, the highly respected statewide Dunleavy Poll shows Murphy and The Virginian virtually neck and neck as the campaign begins. Cato should be ashamed!

West Sacramento, Calif. MICHAEL R. FROST

More, Please

Having just read "Personal Observations from Abroad" [Sept. 12]—I recommend a rule to be passed without delay—Rule #1: *More articles by Priscilla L. Buckley.*

Van Nuys, Calif. DIANNE FALK

Smile Awhile

Continue the good work! The cleverly written nonsense you boys turn out provides welcome comic relief after a long evening of study.

Haverford, Pa. STEPHEN CURLEY
Haverford College

Seconding the Supreme Court

Somebody at *NR*, reporting the most recent Supreme Court decisions (July 7), jumped the gun. Though I am not an ardent admirer of the Warren Court, in this instance—the case of *Escobedo v. Illinois*, Docket No. 615, decided June 22, 1964)—I must agree with it.

NATIONAL REVIEW'S writer renders the decision as amounting to the proclamation that "we cannot convict

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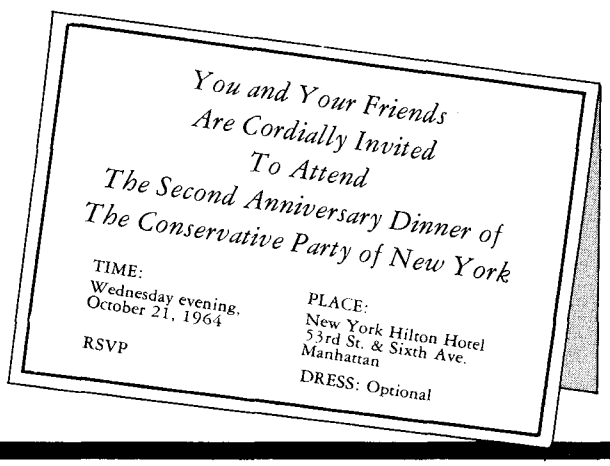
  (will also be listed in the Dinner Journal)
- Those who cannot attend, but contribute $25 or more, will be listed as Sponsors' in the Journal
- Anyone who contributes $5 or more will be listed as a Booster in the Journal.

IMPORTANT: Even if you or your friends are *unable* to attend the Second Anniversary Dinner, please make *some* financial contribution to this crucially important fund-raising event.



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a man whose confession was given without *a* lawyer at his side" (emphasis mine). This is totally misleading. What the Court actually held in *Escobedo* was ". . . only that when the process shifts from investigatory to accusatorial—when its focus is on the accused and its purpose is to elicit a confession—our adversary system begins to operate . . . the accused must be permitted to consult with his lawyer."

Moreover, *Escobedo* was not simply a case wherein the accused wanted to see *a* lawyer; he wanted to see *his* lawyer, and his lawyer wanted to see him. . . . When his lawyer asked to visit Escobedo in jail, he was refused this right by the police in direct violation of Illinois statutes, until a confession had been extracted. The Supreme Court merely held that in upholding the law the police must obey the law. This is nothing new, no radical departure from previous decisions—as your editorial suggested.

Death House, EDGAR H. SMITH
Trenton Penitentiary, N.J.

SOLUTION TO LAST ISSUE'S TRANS-O-GRAM (October 6)

John T. Flynn
THE ROAD AHEAD

Alfred Edwards, Socialist member of Parliament, declared: "We have seen the two systems side by side. . . . The man who would still argue for socialism as the means of ridding our society of the defects of capitalism is blind indeed. Socialism just does not work."

A Slip

After reading Alfred Loomis' article "A Blow For Freedom" [Sept. 22] I would like to point out a small discrepancy.

Probably from force of habit, Mr. Loomis mentioned a "Statue of Liberty." Could he possibly be referring to the Statue of Economic Security?

Demarest, N.J. GERTRUDE J. HEIM

Attention NAACP

God forbid, as Francis Russell suggests bitter-sweetly in "Sweden—That Middle Way" [Sept. 22], that any nuclear war leave only Sweden's

Electronics Stocks

1965 FORECAST

In the year ahead, the leading Electronics Stocks are expected to produce *earnings* gains almost *five times as great* as the average advance of *all* 1100 stocks covered by Value Line.

This expected upsurge is based on Value Line's careful estimates of year-ahead earnings for *each* of 58 major Electronics & Electrical Equipment Stocks—*not* just the new pacemakers but the laggards too.

Yet—strange as it may seem in today's stock market—three of every four stocks in this dynamic group recently sold at price-to-earnings ratios *lower* than in 1963 (and nearly half of them at *less* than their *13-year median* price-earnings ratios).

Even more interesting, however, are the *longer-term* prospects (3 to 5 years) of many of these stocks for *much* greater-than-average capital appreciation. Specifically, if our earnings projections are on target, 15 of the 58 stocks involved are in a position to appreciate 50% to 100%—and another six are in the more-than-100% category.

But the Electronics Group is no area for stock market investors mainly interested in safety or dividend yields; it is, with few exceptions, only for venturesome investors aiming high.

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We will send you Value Line's carefully researched Report on the Electronics Stocks—revealing both the areas of greatest profit potentialities and of greatest risk—as a special *bonus* under the Guest Subscription offered below.

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Professor Wilhelm Roepke
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citizens as survivors! That materialistically-obsessed and neurotic nation has either the highest or one of the highest rates in Europe of suicide, alcoholism, juvenile delinquency, and divorce.

Mr. Russell says that Sweden has *no* minority problem. *The Afro-American* journal (Sept. 19, 1964) points out that recently the Swedish Ombudsman (Civil Parliamentary Commissioner) declared that restaurants are "entitled to bar guests on racial grounds." This stemmed from a complaint filed by gypsies who had been refused service in a Boras, Sweden, restaurant because of race,

Memphis, Tenn. JIM MCNABB

Angola Like Algeria

I but recently discovered *NR* and I have been at once interested.

I was born in French Algeria and I lived there until the so-called "independence" two years ago. The article on a massacre in Angola [Sept. 22] brought to me unhappy memories of many examples of similar and sometimes worse brutality which took place in Algeria between 1954 and 1962 and of which I could personally give many accounts. As you may well understand I feel very sensitive to whatever happens to that unfortunate country, that is why I would like to see more coverage of Algerian questions in your courageous and lucid magazine.

New York, N.Y. N. FOUCHAUX

The vivid, dramatic style of Bernardo Teixeira in "Massacre at Quitexe" has something of the simplicity of a Goya, and like him conveys the horror of the scene he depicts by taking the reader *"sur place."*

If this is a sample of his forthcoming book, then *The Fabric of Terror* should be required reading by all the one-sided bleeding-hearts.

I hope we will see more of Teixeira's writings in your splendid magazine.

Swampscott, Mass. NATE EDSON

Malraux—

Re Communist converts to Gaullism [To the Editor, Sept. 22]: André Malraux.

New York, N.Y. J. C. KORATH JR.

There was about fifteen years between André Malraux's leaving Communism and his emergence as a "Gaullist." —ED.

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TRANS-O-GRAM

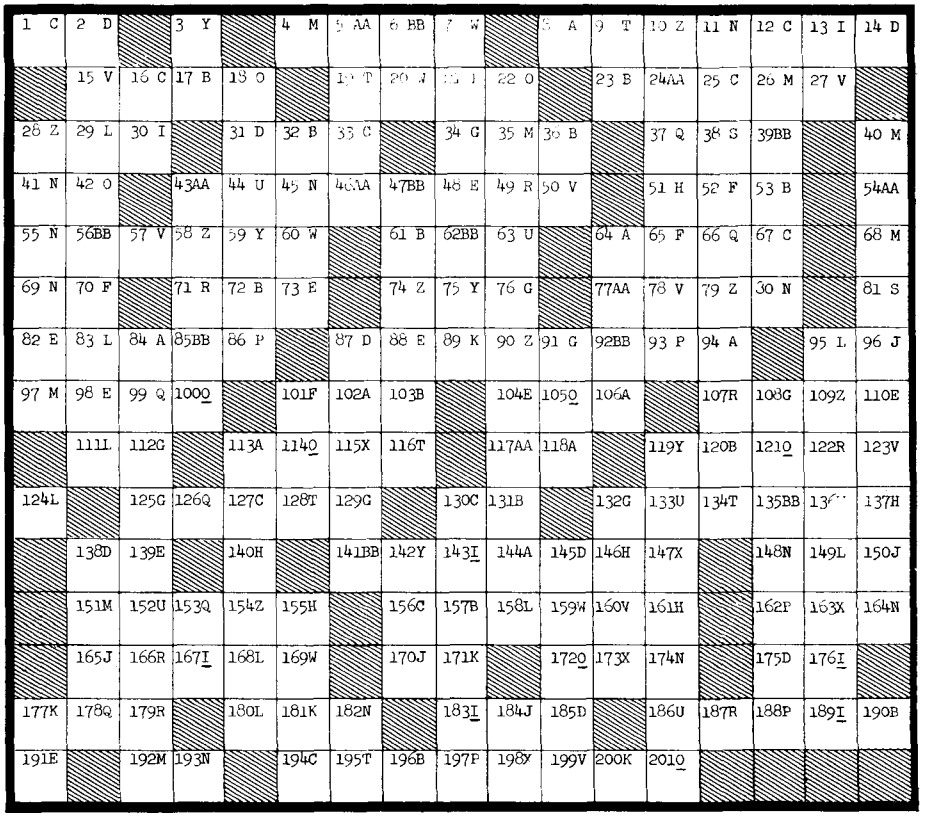
by Svend Petersen

DEFINITIONS	WORDS
A. Great Democratic president.	8 94 106 64 84 102 113 118 144
B. With C, famous exploration (3 wds.).	190 157 23 72 196 32 36 53 61 103 120 131 17
C. See definition B.	25 127 156 67 194 1 12 16 130 33
D. Group that can't win an election.	31 87 2 138 145 175 185 14
E. Practiced by ADA, NAACP, CORE, et al.	48 82 104 139 110 73 98 191 38
F. Girl's name (diminutive form).	52 65 70 101
G. Defense, Treasury, and H.E.W. are interested in this, but not State.	125 132 34 76 91 108 112 129
H. How a repeating nocturnal lemur would vote (hyph.).	140 137 146 51 155 161
I. Ophelia would have none of it.	143 167 176 183 189 13 30
J. There's no question that T. R. discovered this river.	150 184 96 165 170
K. This diet gave Luther indigestion.	177 171 181 89 200
L. Italian name of mountain chain.	180 83 95 124 149 168 111 29 158
M. The rabble.	26 192 40 68 97 35 151 4
N. Musical comedy that was positive success (3 wds.).	11 69 193 41 45 148 55 164 174 30 182
O. Slogan for militant conservatives (2 wds.).	18 100 201 22 42 114 172 105 121
P. The mob.	21 162 188 86 93 197
Q. Economical management.	66 178 37 126 153 99
R. President, governor, and senator of Texas.	71 179 122 49 107 166 187
S. Town in France.	81 38
T. Florentine painter, architect, and sculptor.	134 195 9 116 128 19
U. Part of Asia Minor.	152 44 63 133 186
V. Immoderate people.	160 199 57 27 123 78 15 50
W. A member of a legislative chamber.	169 7 159 20 136 60
X. Village in Palestine.	173 115 147 198 163
Y. River about which Strauss wrote a waltz.	59 75 119 3 142
Z. Right of self-government.	28 10 154 90 79 58 109 74
AA. Cornelia's jewels.	46 5 54 43 77 24 117
BB. Province ruled by governor.	6 92 135 39 62 47 85 141 56

See page 925 for solution of last issue's Trans-O-Gram.

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the WORDS (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out, it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black squares indicating the end of a word); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of Webster's New International Dictionary, Second Edition.



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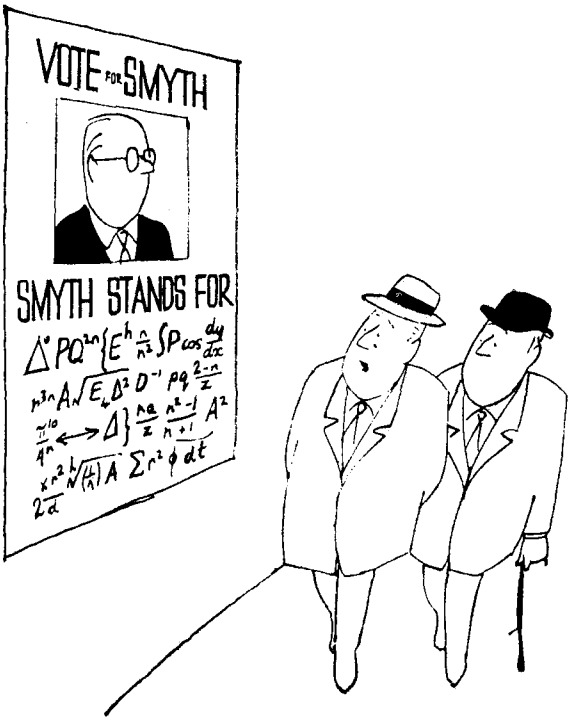
For The Record

There'll be no announcements until after November 3 of—1. New Pentagon plans for cutbacks in defense spending, closing of certain shipyards, military depots, camps; 2. No congressional on-the-scene investigation of the situation in South Vietnam, both the State Department and the Pentagon having turned down members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee who proposed such a trip; 3. No report by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on lax screening and clearing procedures in the State Department; 4. No overtures by the West German Government to Peking as per promise by Chancellor Erhard to Pres. Johnson; and, (on the plus side) 5. Probably no firing of suspended State Department security officer Otto Otepka. (Sen. Beall—R., Md.—reports that for his sins Otepka has, among other menial chores, been assigned in recent months to indexing the Congressional Record.)

The well-informed Nation Française reports that Gen. Nguyen Giap, the victor of Dien Bien Phu, is directing the Vietcong war in South Vietnam. . . . More formal ties between the South Vietnam National Liberation Front and Red China forged last week when the NLF set up a permanent mission in Peking. . . . Hopeful note about American youth: the Army reports that the re-enlistment rate among GIs whose tour of duty runs out in South Vietnam is about 50 per cent—two and a half times the regular re-enlistment rate.

Don't they wish they hadn't said it: Congressman John Lindsay of N.Y., in letter to a constituent Jan. 24, 1964: "Whoever the Republicans nominate is most certainly deserving of the support of all Republicans." . . . Pierre Salinger (Nov. 1962): "I am not eligible to run for any office in California where I have not been a resident for several years. I am living in Virginia." . . . In legal trouble: Arthur Larson and his Council for Civic Responsibility (an anti-Goldwater front). Dean Clarence Manion has asked Larson for a suitable and legal retraction for labeling the Manion Forum a John Birch "front."

Among security measures taken for Pres. de Gaulle on his Latin American junket were radioactive invitations to large gala receptions. By checking



Ben Roth Agency

"I see he's going all out for the technological vote."

especially-treated cards with geiger counters French guards could make sure no one got in with forged card. . . . De Gaulle's one-time Resistance chief in occupied France, and more recently a bitter political enemy, Georges Bidault, announces he will return from Brazil (where he is in exile) and oppose de Gaulle in the French presidential elections next year.

The New York Mets who finished in the National League cellar again this year—to no one's surprise—officially awarded the prize for the best banner of the year to this effort: "Extremism in defense of the Mets is not a vice."

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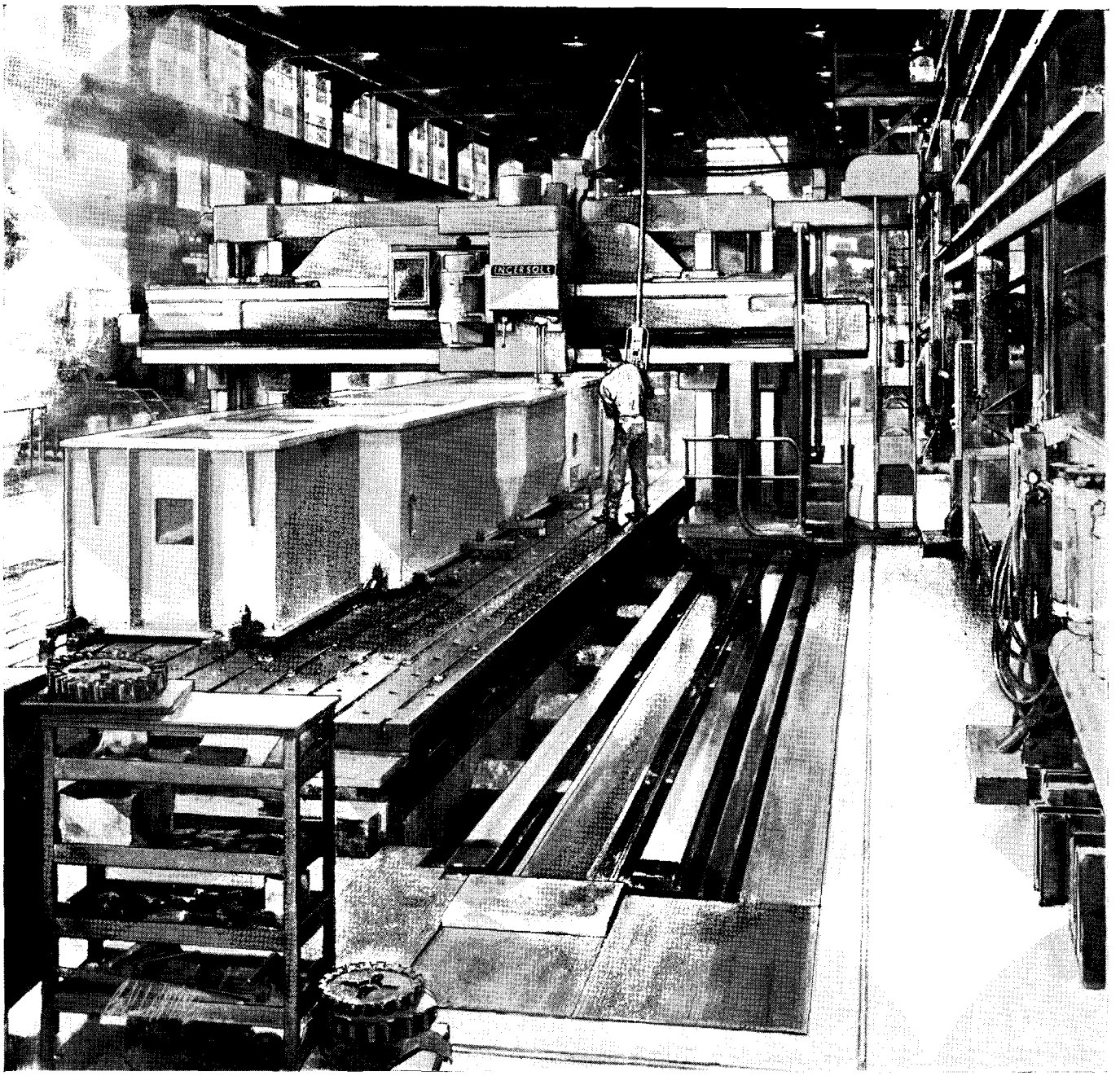

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